

Of the knowledge

and conducte of warres, two bookes,

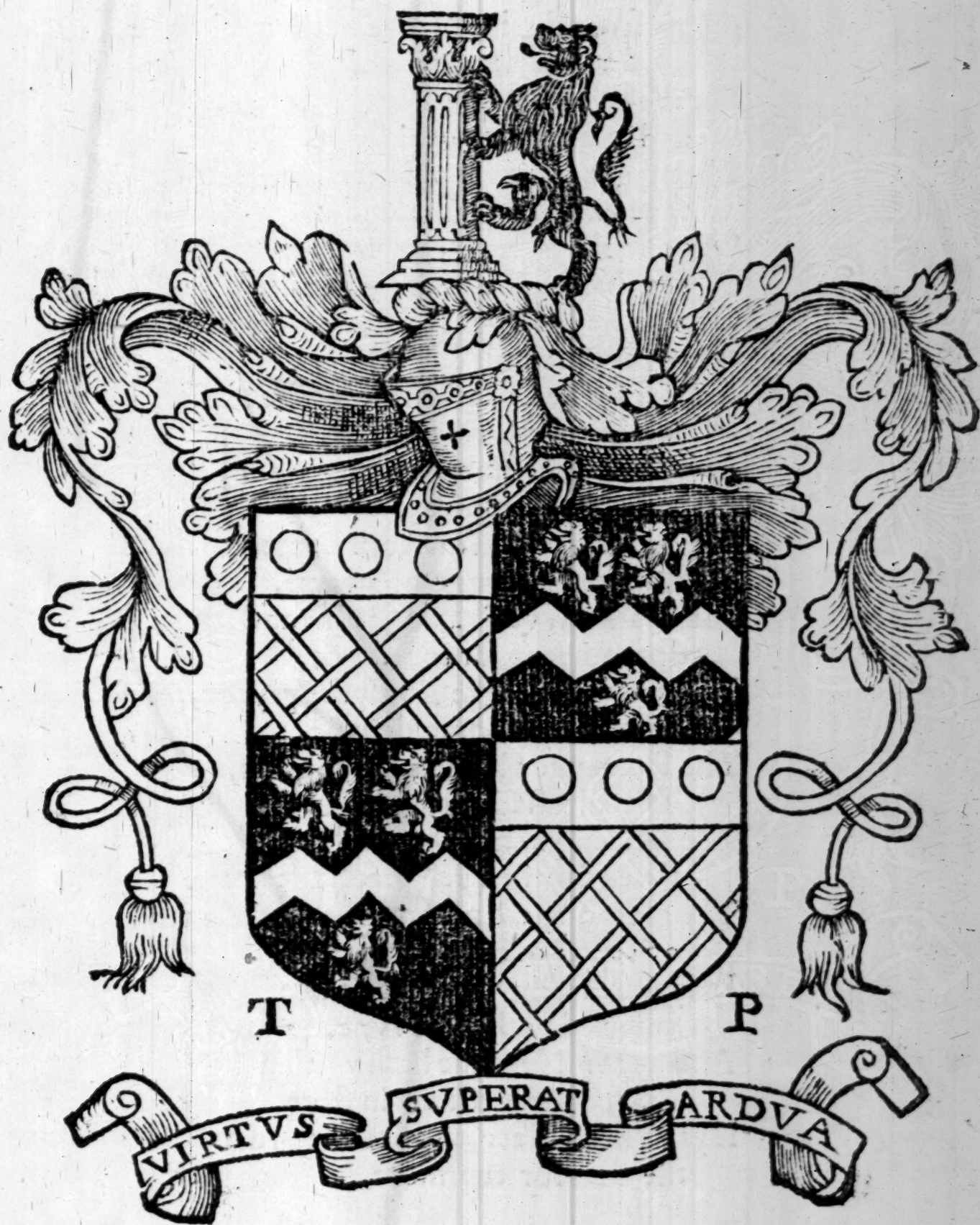
latelie wrytten and sett foorth, profi-
table for suche as delight in Hyf-
toryes, or martyall affayres,
and necessarye for
this present
tyme.

*¶ Virtuti pariter cunctis contendite neruis:
Ignaua (vt scopulos) otia diffugite.*

Seeke vertue, noble youth betymes,
Which breadeth honour true:
Base idlenesse, and all her baytes,
Euen as a rocke eschue.

*¶ In ædibus Richardi Tottelli, vij, die
Iunij. Anno Domini, 1578.*

*¶ Cum privilegio ad imprimen-
dum solum.*



Goe serue thy countrey vvell, my booke,
for that is my desyre.
For these good fruites I onely looke,
and craue none other hyre.
The myghtye kynge of hostes, hathe sent,
thee vnto Bryttyshe lande:
Good lucke to beare, to prosper well,
the vvarres they take in hande.
God hathe hys bountye shewved, let men
applye their gladd good vvyll,
And serue the Lorde, then shall he blesse
this realme to floryshe styll.
And Englyshe noble ensyignes shall,
in foreyne countreys farre,
Aduanced be, and martyall Brute,
Shalbee the kynge of vvarre.
For Mars novve vvaxinge olde and lame,
dothe meane for to resygne,
hys martyall force to Englyshe prynce,
decreed by doome deuyne.
The Romaine glayue, aduanced is,
Thessalyan Horse, and speare:
The Macedonyen pyke, and par-
thyen bove, vvell practyzde heare.
The gracyous G O D of myght, hath sent
a Scepter of renovvne,
In sygne of Empyre great, to bee
annexed to the Crovvne.
And father Neptune hath vvithin
thys coaste layde vp in store,
Hys trydent Mace, of povver to rule
the Seas for euermore.

T.P.

The preface.



He Climate, or Region of the firmament, vnder which euery Countrey is planted & settled, hath great force and influence, for the temperature & complexion of mens bodies, whiche also worketh sundrie effectes & motyons in the myndes & disposityons of the, as for prose: Experience sheweth, that the Italian and Frenchman comenlye, is more enclyned to be courtlyke, prompte, and quicke of spirite, then the Dutchman or Flemmyng, & the Spaniard, the Moore or Libyen, more nimble, more politique, and more subiect to choler, enuie, and pryde the man of Sweden, or the Muscouyte being more of fleugmatike constitution of bodye. The Greekes also, for this purpose, haue bene noted of learned men, to be by disposition and motion of nature exquisite searchers of cunnynge in manuel craftes, & verie studious in the liberall Sciences. The Egyptians and Iewes (by obseruation of wise men) are founde more geuen to superstitions and idolatrie, then other nations: The Scythien, the Turke, and Tartarian addicted to crueltie, and the Persian to delicate life. But to drawe nearer vnto our skope, and marke, The Englyshe man (for whom this trauaill is taken) liuinge in a fertile countrey, and vnder a temperate Climate, and thereby indewed with the more excellent disposition of mynde and bodie, beinge by the great bountie and blessinge of God not vnfurnished of anie vertue, that other people haue: So is there principallie scene in him, that yet remaines of the right stampe or race vndegenerate, an honourable desire to the exercyse of armes, hauinge by the prycke of Magnanimitie, a victorious mynde, affectinge fame, soueraigntie, and honour aboue other nations. But least I flatter him whom I loue, and woulde to be warned, Two onelye poyntes of imperfection, though not yet, nowe, notablie exceedinge to anie great vice, (howe? be it some defectes) are noted to bee in a great parte of Englyshe men, whiche maye well bee reformed. The one is, negligence or securitie: The other is mutabilitie, and variable chaunging of mynde, principallie shewed in delectable thinges, not of the greatest importaunce, as in daintie fare of sundrye delicate meates, diuers curious buyldinges, and most of all in ma-

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we almost infinite guyses, sortes, and fashions of habyte, yea and diguysed attyre, wherein, oftentimes is planted and bestowed so much care and studie, that, there is the lesse employed on vertuous and needefull exercyses. Yea sometime, while tryfles are regarded, thinges most commendable & requisite are neglected. I doe not condempne them, but commend ornaments, they are to bee regarded in a sorte, and not to be reiected: but more worthy thinges to be placed before, and with greatest desire & diligence endeouored. We are it not to be pytied, that the great helpe and benefite of nature geuen to this nation, in highnesse of courage, and noble inclynation to prowesse, should be defaced & obscured, that no light effecte, or vertue thereof shoulde appeare? yes, but there is an other thinge in it, besydes the pittye of the matter, which is the qualitie and necessitie of this tyme, wherein wee liue, whiche if it be well considered, will sufficientlie perswade (where iudgement is, though fewe wordes be vsed therein) to stirre vp the sleaping myndes from slewthe, to abandon tryfles, and fall to the commendable practises meete for men, and necessarie for the troublesome state of the worlde. For what is in want or lett that the Englisheman, hauinge a stronge bodie, good will enoughe, and a fertile countrey, sufficient to supplie the prouysion and maintenance of a myghtie armye, shoulde not excell other nations in deades & exployctes of Armes, and extend the victorious forces of this Realme, by renowned conquestes farre?

Practise & skyll.

Dido obtayned somuch grounde, to buylde the Citie vpon, as might be compassed wvith an oxes hyde, and that she cut in thonges.

Surely the defectes are, lacke of endeuour, & discipline. By these the Citie of Rome, from extreme pouertye (hauinge most bare & slender beginniges, their territoryes beinge as short, as the content or boundes of the smallest shyre within this lande) in shorte time, aduanced her Empyre ouer the whole worlde. By these likewise, the Carthaginoyes, whose towne, countrey, & dominion, weare first bounded by the circuyte and compassinge of an Oxes hyde: Soone after, they grewe in greatnes, to checke & encounter the mightie estate of Rome, & once put the same in daunger of a mate, by this skill, the countrey of Macedone beinge not great, vnder the conducte of the most puissant Alexander, subdued the mightie Monarchie of the Persians, with a great parte of the worlde besides, and in his mynde had the plott and conquest of the whole, yea & of an other worlde, if it had

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had bene to be founde, but GOD stayed his victories, (whiche men could not) by cuttinge of his life, about thyrtye yeares of his age. The mightie and victorious Alexander of Englande, whose most renowned battaile of Agincourte, and sundry triumphant conquestes in Fraunce, made the whole worlde to shake, was cut of in like youthe, Henry the fiftie. from no lesse hope, then the other greate Alexander, after that hee had by most excellent disciplyne of warre, in shorte time obtayned many greate victories. By this arte and practise, of later time, another Pirrhus, Prince of the little Countrey Epirus in Greecia, resisted G. Scanderbeg. the huge and grosse powers of the greate Turke: By this, the greate Beiazet. Tamberlane conquered him, and made him his miserable vassall and captiue, in fewe yeares, arysinge from a poore Netherd, to be Lorde ouer the most mightie Prince in the worlde. By this excercise partelie, though principallye by the huge monstrous multitudes of barbarous Scithyens, the Turkes in no longe time, haue subdued so many kinges and countreyes, and extended their Empyre so farre, into all the three partes of the worlde, & yet prosecuteth and thrusseth the same further daylie. Now it is to be remembred that the knowledge, and practyse of the actes and feates of armes, principallie and properlye are of the profession of noble menne, and gentlemen of greate reuenues. For and by whiche, they were firste ordayned and preferred into that place, to be a wall and defence for their countrey. For the poore man hath not, whereof to lyue of his owne, if hee employe time, or expences heerein. And therefore the other, ought to geue example, bothe by his owne industrie in such practises, and also maintayne the same in the meane sorte. Securitye and longe peace breedeth idlenes, whiche sucketh the valure out of noble myndes. A plaine prooffe whereof, & of the hurte that groweth thereby, ys The arte of had by the Romaines, whiche in xxiiij. yeares space, betwene the Nobilitie, first and seconde warres of Carthage, weare so farre grown out of vse and good practyse of armes, that where as before, they weare euery where Conquerours. In the seconde warres, they went, alwaies to wracke, till their sundrye greate losses droue them vnto their olde course & Bias againe. Thus seeynge the causes of these defectes in Englishe men discovered, the cure is the more plaine & easie, & the rather, if the remedie vnto the other impediment be applyed, that is want

The preface.

ys want of skill or discipline, which proceedinge & growing partlie vpon the other cause, v^z. lacke of practise, the reste, is also to bee sought for and supplied. For as vse & excercise, maketh prompt, ready, & skilfull in manye thinges: So by most iust & sure argumēt, the contrarie, which is the priuation, or lacke theareof, worketh, & causeth cōtrary effectes: And yet not alwayes in all thinges, doth excercise or labour bringe knowledge & perfection, but there must be skill withall, which in this matter, is for the more parte to be obtayned by collection & iudgement of the reportes, historyes, & Chronicles written of warres. For in matters of importāce, which haue many Cauteles, difficultyes, & obseruatiōs: yt is necessarie that a way be opened, & a light geuen vnto him, which would be a passynger hearein, to directe & encline his course vnto this knowledge: For otherwise he shal traueil & wāder in the darke trades, & vnknewē pathes, like a blynde man, which goeth he woteth not whither. And proue, to that there be diuers grōundes, rules, stratagemes, & enstruc-tiōs to be set downe, printed, & obserued in the memory, of good soula-diers, as a plot & fōundation of their busines: The sundrie bookes writ-ten of these matters in the latine tongue, & other lāguages, by great learned & expert men, may be a sufficient argumēt hearein. Besides that, reason wil easelye discusse, that the knowledge of the aūcient orders & gouernmēt of warre, with the sundrie sortes & attyre of bastail, vsed amonge sundry nations, their maners & practises, the exāples of the antiquitie, the experiēce, pollicies, prudent cōsailes, most profitable and pitthyce preceptes, and admonishmentes, moste excellent experimentes, instructyons, behauiour & discipline of the greatest chycstaines, & most renoumed conquerours that euer were, be requisite & needefull vnto a good Captaine: for what is the experi-ence or opynion of one man, to the practise & iudgement of a great nūber of such, as haue conquered in all Countreys, vanquished great armyes, ouerthrowē many mightie battailes, & honorablie passed al daūgers of warre: whose doinges be iudicially, & perfectlie noted of most learned and wise men, in sundrie great volumes & writings, for example & profite of the posteritie, which the vnlearned can not tast or attayne, without some preparatiue by plaine plott drawn, or introductiō in apt order made, to lead the into the knowledge therof.

For

The Preface.

For accomplishinge wheareof, though, thorough the grossenes of my style, lacke of experience, and sundrye kindes of knowledge, wheare with a writer of so wayghtie a matter, ought to be furnished, together with my study of breuittie heerein, & little leasure, which from myne other affaires I had, one time longe after an other, to accomplish this same, I shall not sufficientlie in all pointes, content the exquisite iudgements whiche are to deame heareof: Yet for the necessitie and scarcitie of writing in this matter: (A willynge minde, and faithfull affection to profite my Countreye, thrusting me forth to beare a burthē to bigge for my shoulders:) This labour of myne, may be a beginninge to encourage sume other, of their greatest experience, to make larger addition, or supplie heerein. For yet nowe I finde Vegetius one lye, an auncient writer, & Machiauell of these affayres, well translated into Englishe, whiche aucthours being bothe expert in warres, and also verye learned, their industrie herein is of so much the more commendation, as those two qualitties are rare, and seldome mete together: For suche a one as hath knowledge, ioyned with courage & expereince, is a man worthe men, & maye auayle more then a number: Yet for that the saide Machiauel is deamed sumwhat diffuse in his treatyse, his opinions also not altogether agreeinge with all mens iudgements, nor reachinge to many matters mete for the state of our English warres: And Vegetius being a writer, when warres weare vsed in an other course, then they are nowe a dayes: It is therefore wished more to be done in this behalfe. And it is maruail to see, how the studies of many men haue ben addicted in this our time, hauing store of rype wittes, whiche can doe verye well: Yet amonge so manye bookes, as are written daylie, of dreames & fantacies, introductions to pleasure, familier fruiteles talkinges, eloquent, formall orations, little material, of pleasant metinges & fables amonge women, of Caunterbury, or courset tales, with diuers iestes, & vaine deuises: in earnest, there is least labour layd on that arte, wheareby, kinges rule, & are ruled and conquered, which erecteth, buyldeth establisheth, encreaseth, beautifieth estates, the ende and fruites whereof, is honour most highe, euen aduanced to the skyes, flowinge wealth, fame neuer faylinge or forgotten, victorie and dominion wthout boundes,

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boundes: The contrarie and wante wheareof, is Captiuitie, Ruine, Dishonour, and desolation. VVherein to perswade by argument that, which euerye man doth plainelye see, yt weare waste of wordes and tyme. And, to styrr anye man to the studye of this knowledge, Sith the worthynes theareof allureth and draweth all right Englishmen, (which by the pricke and inclinatyon of nature, doe with great desyre runne theare vnto.) I will thearefore omitte to spende further speache heare in, and drawe vnto the matter: whearein to make my course the plainer vnto the Reader, I deuide this worke into two bookes. W heareof the first entreateth of the Captayne & Souldiours. And the seconde of the discipline, obseruations, & admonitions of warre: which two bookes, also for the better helpe of memorye, I appointe and distribute into certaine Chapters, braunches, or principall pointes, touchinge the substaunce of this matter, as in my table appeareth, beginninge with the diffinition of warres.

(Firste in the porche or entrie of this worke, to be vnfolded, before we enter into the particuler, & inner partes theareof,) beinge the matter wherupon this buyldinge is founded and framed.

Vale.

Errata.

Page.	Leafe.	Lyne.	Faultes.	Correccion.
1	1	4	For it is a contention.	Reade, it is defined a cōtention.
2	2	1	Tvvo	for Tenne
1	4	30	Heard of	for Hard
2	18	24	Nobis	for Orbis
1	27	27	Auoyde	for Annoye
2	42	23	Endureth	for includeth.

FINIS.

The Table or contentes of the chapters contayned in the first booke.

- | | | |
|----|---|---------|
| 1 | OF the diffinition of Warre, & of an Armye. | Fol. 1 |
| 2 | Of the vature of the generall | Fol. 2 |
| 3 | Of the vertues, and qualities requisite for the function of the Captaine or generall. | Fol. 3 |
| 4 | Of magnanimitie and provvesse in the Generall. | Fol. 4 |
| 5 | Of Iustice. | Fol. 5 |
| 6 | Of Prudence. | Fol. 8 |
| 7 | Of the loue & good affection of the Captaine to his souldiours. | Fol. 10 |
| 8 | Whether it bee more expedient to haue one Generall, or manye. | Fol. 12 |
| 9 | Of the aucthoritye of the Generall, and vvhath ought to be his chiefe desire, vvished fruites, & ende of vvarres, vvhat person, & of vvhat qualities oughte to be deamed the best and most honourable Captayne. | Fol. 13 |
| 10 | Of a Souldier & the qualities vvwhich he ought to haue. | Fol. 18 |
| 11 | Of vvhat constitution of bodye, trade, and sorte of lyfe the meetest souldiour is to bee chosen, & vvhat exercises and practises are profitable for him to vse. | Fol. 21 |
| 12 | Of the sundrye sorte of vvweapons vsed by diuers nations in the auncient vvarres, and vvvhiche are novve most necessarie, vvvythe sume respectes of pressing of souldiours. | Fol. 25 |

The

The Table of the seconde Booke.

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| Capit. I. | OF the disciplyne and admonitions of vvarre. | Folio. 26 |
| 2 | To breake or disorder the battaile of the enemye. | Fol. 29 |
| 3 | Aduertismentes howv the Armye that is vweaker then the enemyes, maye growe stronger, or saue it selfe. | Fol. 32 |
| 4 | Howv to conducte an armye; & proceade vvith the same in a foreine Countrey, and of the necessities thereunto. | Fol. 33 |
| 5 | Whether it bee more profitable to seeke for the greate Towne, or the lesse, and howve best to vvyne the same. | Fol. 36 |
| 6 | Howve the excellent Captaynes haue encouraged their Souldiours vnto battayle, and made them hardye and valiaunt in fight. | Fol. 37 |
| 7 | Howv to vse victorie, & vvhat clemencie is to be vsed tovvardes the conquered, & of the hurte that commeth by securitie. | Fol. 40 |
| 8 | Of the beginninge, and iust cause of vvarre. | Fol. 41 |
| 9 | Of victories vvwhich is the best, & vvhat truce maye behonourablye made. | Fol. 45 |
| 10 | Of the vse and ende of vvarres, & of preparation therefore, in time of peace. | Fol. 47 |

FINIS.

¶ *Of the diffinition of warre.*



Warre generallye, is sayd to bee the exercyse of armes, agaynst enemies.

But properlye, it is, a Contention betweene princes or estates, by armes and force of men, vnder orders and gouernment, to obtaine victorye.

Victorie consisteth in three pointes: in Conquering and subduyng the dominions, bodyes, or goodes of the enemies.

The endes of warres, are twayne. { *Immediate, to obtaine victory.*
Mediate, to liue the better afterwards in peace and honour,

¶ *The diuision of warre.*

Warre is diuided into three sortes or kindes. { *In the open felde.*
Within wall or trench
of place fortified.
By Nauie on the Sea. { *By Incursio or skirmish.*
By battel ioyned.

The skill and knowledge of all which, are verie necessarie for our nation, but especially of the first & the last. Now for explanation of the diffinition aboue, I wil go vnto the singuler partes there of. Warre is first sayd to be a contencion which is deryued of the latine woord *tendo*: it signifieth

A. j.

properly

properly to bēde, so that with this particle, Con, it is by the Etymologie or Interpretation of the woord, a bēdyng of the forces, an inclinyng of al endeuour, a striuinge vnto some purpose, betwene what parties? it followeth, betwene princes or estates, for if it be betwene subiectes without authoritie of the prince, it is a faccion, & if the same be vsed agaynst the prince, it is a rebellion, a contention against lawe, duetye naturall, allegeaunce, and agaynst the cōmon wealth. By what meanes and instrumentes is this stryfe made and pursued? By armes and force of manne, whych are to bee vsed for the defence of the Realme, Territories, Lawes, bondes, libertyes and rightes of the same. And this same power of men, which is the pythe and matter of the warre, is also to receyue some forme which shapeth things in their perfecciō: & that therein is guyde & gouernment, for without order and conduct, thys force is not woorthye the name of warre; but it is a tumulte, route or assemblie of people, prepared not for victorie, but rūnyng headlong, or rather tumblinge headlesse into Ruine. So that it is to bee concluded, that a prynce for the ordayninge and waginge of warre, is to prepare and gather together a power of men vnder orders and gouernmentes, whych power so appoynted, is called an armye, the seuerall bandes and partes whereof must haue sundrie guydes and Captaynes: and ouer the whole bodie of the armie, there is to be constituted and ordayed

The diffinition
of an armye.

dained one generall head or gouernour.

¶ Of the generall.

With the head of thys armye, wee will beginne our second chapter, for that the same consyſtyng of a Captayne, and ſouldiours, the captaine is the pryncipall part thereof, vppon whom the greateſt wayght, and hope of the warres lyeth, not in the force of hys perſonne, whych is but one ſingular man, but in hys policie and ſkyl, in leadyng and orderynge of his armie, in vſing the aduantages, and foreſceyng the preiudices of warre. As by ſundrie examples wee ſhall well prooue, who hath not read, that Ninus kynge of the Affiryens, by induſtrie and deedes of armes, *Ninus.* (wherein hee cauſed his ſouldiers to bee practyſed) rayſed thereby & ſet vp the firſt Monarchy or greateſt eſtate of the worlde. And agayne, it is as well knowne, that the ſame nation, beeing effeminate vnder the diſſolute raigne of Sardanapalus, *Sardanapalus.* for want of diſcipline and good guyde of warre, was ſubdued by the Medes, whom beefore they had conquered, and their empire earſt honourable aduaunced, now ſhamefullie loſt and taken from them: wherethey were lordes, they became vſſalles and captyues, by the valure, and good partes of a Captaine. Milciades of Athens, *Milciades.* hauinge the conduct of twelue thouſand menne, ouerthrew and vanquiſhed an army of an hundred
A.ij. dred

Cap. 2.

The first booke.

Darius

Xerxes.

Mardonius.

Cymon of
Lacedamon.

Alcibiades.

Mindarus
& Pharna-
bazus.

Leonidas

with 4000.
as some write

Celtæ.

Breni^{us} & Be-

linus English

men, sonnes of

Donwallo a

Saxon King.

dred thousand footemen, and twoe thousand
horsemen, sent by the first Darius, sonne of Hy-
daspis, to inuade Grecia. And not longe after,
the greatest armie that euer was assembled (by
report of histories) lead by Xerxes king of Persia
for the same purpose, that the other of Darius was
before into Grecia, amouñting nigh to the num-
ber of tenne hundred thousand men (by the con-
sent of the best wryters) was by the politike and
valiant Themistocles vanquished, first in a battaile
on the Sea, & afterwards his captaine Mardonius
with his whole power conquered in the field the
Greciās, thē not farre exceding the nūber of a 100.
thousand men. Cimon also about that time a cap-
taine of Lacēdemō, by like valure & with a lesse ar-
my, preuailed against great powers of the Persiās
by Sea. And Alcibiades the excellent Captaine of
Athens beyng no lesse ouermatched with num-
ber of men and munition or furniture of warre,
with the skattered forces and repulsed power of
the Atheniens, both by Sea and land ouerthrew
the Persians and Lacēdemoniens, vnder Mindarus
and Pharnabazus their Captaines. In the begyn-
ning of these warres, the redoubted Leonidas with
vj. hundred Lacēdemoniens, slew nigh 20. thou-
sand of the Persians, at their entryng into Grecia.
Furius Camillus, whē the Celtæ led by Brennus
and Bellinus, had conquered Italy, and sacked
Roome, gathering together the disperfed relickes
and broken bands of the armie before conquered,
by

The first booke. Cap.2. Fol.3.

by wōderful hardines & prowesse, sodainly assay-^{Furius.}
ling the Celtes in their retorne homewards, ouer-^{Camillus.}
threw them, and bereft them of all the spoyles &
prises which they had taken before, Martius Co-^{Martius.}
riolanus, the noble Romaine, when he had by Ro-^{Coriolanus.}
maines, ouerthrowen the Volsciens & cōquered
of their terrytories and townes, beyng afterwards
ingratefullie banished of his countrey, and inua-
ding the same with a power of Volsciens, beeinge
the same people, which late beefore was vanqui-
shed, vnder an other Captayne, now by his con-
duct, the Romaines being ouer runne, & the ene-
mies at the walles of their Citie, they are constrai-
ned to craue peace, and to entreate of Martius by
all meanes for their sauftie. The subtil Hanniball,^{Hanniball.}
which had ouerthrowen many Captains and bat-
tals of the Romaines by the knackes and fine fet-
ches of a cunning Captaine, yet was he not onely
matched: but also mated or wearied by Fabius, by^{Fabius.}
policy, delaying to ioigne battail til he had much
worne and spēt the other with trauail & want of
necessaries for his armie (which could not be sup-
plied at all times frō Carthage beyng so farre dis-
tant) vnto Hanniball, as they might be vnto Fabi-
us, at home. But Scipio afterwards, goyng beyōd^{Scipio.}
all the cunning of Hanniball, conquered hym in
his owne countrey. And the Macidoniens, (for
further prooffe of this theme, for the importāce &
regarde of the guyde & Captaine) vnder the con-
duct of Alexander the great, they conquered the
greatest

Cap. 3.

The first booke.

Alexander.

Paulus
Emelius.
Perseus.

greatest part of the world: & the same people not long after, vnder other gouernment, wyth their King Perseus, and their countrey, were by Paulus Emelius a famous Captayne of the Romaines subdued. So to be short (for that this matter is cōuenient to bee touched hereafter) The vertue, wisedome, and dyligence of the Captayne in takinge of some aduaūtages, & his circumspect dealinge, causeth great assurance and cōfidence of the armie, and his courage and skill in vsing & moouing of souldiers, maketh of a cowardlie people, hardie: and the want of the same maketh the hardie people fearefull, and of noe force.

¶ Of the vertues and qualities which a Captaine ought to vnderstand to be requisite for that function, and to be endeouored of him.

THe gouernmēt & charge of a General or Captaine is great, & therefore he ought to be furnished and endewed with great vertues. For an armie of souldiers, which are chosen of the lustiest & strongest men of the realme, of what importāce & regarde it ought to be, it is easelye discerned, for it is the strength of the Realme, the wall of the cōmon wealth, the pillar whereupon the estates of all men therein do stand. And therefore amonge other vertues, these fīue a good Captaine must needs haue. That is to say, knowledge, & iudgement in martiall affaires, Magnanimitie or valiaunt courage, Iustice, Prudence, & tender affeccio, diligent
care

care or regarde ouer his souldiers and armie. For knowledge: first, that he consider the maner of the warre, the qualities of the countrey, and people, against whom he is to fight, that he may chose, and weapon his souldiers, apoint & order his bandes & army accordinglye, as for example, in plaine & open countreyes, the more shott & horsemen may auaille, especiallie if there bee store of forage with all, and for IncurSION the more light horse, & lesse cariages be necessarie, the reason is plaine, for that they are to shift from place to place, speedily to annoy the enimie here and there, whereunto in the plaine fieldes they haue scope at will, Captaynes also haue ben skilfull to trayne souldiers, to practyse them in exercyses apt and auaylable for the warres, by excellēt & fitt meanes, to plant & graft in the courage. And further, especiall regard must be had of the state & scituation of the countrey, waies, & grounds, for the saufe passinge conductinge and setting of his armie or campe, for chosing the field or place for battaile, that he leade not his armie into any trappes, ambushes or streightes. Arterentius Varro was deluded & hēmed in by Hāniball at the battaile of Cannæ in Italie: to the vtter ouerthrowe & destrucciō of the Romaine armye, & surely, if the general be a mā learned, as the most excellent captaines haue ben, he shall reade of like thinges, the knowledge whereof is most auaylable in the warres, and the experience of the like hearde of, and in longe time obtayned.

For this purpose great Alexander carried Homer alwaies in his pocket.

¶ Then

¶ *Of Magnanimitie and prowesse in the generall.*

Then must there bee lynked and ioyned wyth knowledge, the secōd vertue, that is highnes & hardines of courage, to atchiue great and honourable thinges which if it be accompanied and furnished with valure and force of bodie in a Captaine, somtimes by his owne prowesse to giue example to the rest it is farre the better: And therefore, it is to be noted that verie seldome throughout the histories of all times, a man shall reade of any great victories or conquests had or made, but the generall was a man hardie, & able of his owne bodie for seruice. I could recompt aboue an hundred of the greatest captains & victours, that haue ben valiaunt men of person: & amonge all, I remēber some of the other sort, good guides of warre without any great force of body, as King Numa, Aristides, Eumenes, & some wemē, as Marthesia, Penthesilia, and diuers of the Amazones, Semiramis, & Thomiris, two Queenes, women of weake bodies, and yet of high & victorious myndes, obtained great victories, vnder their owne conduct, being present in the fielde. Of latter time the cursed Machomet, being nothing valiant of person, by diuelyshe sleighes and enchauntmentes, and thorough the infidelitie of others, made sundrie great conquestes. And the vngracious Pucelle of Fraunce, in the tyme of Kyng Henrie the sixt hys warres there, by the meanes of the superstitious myndes of the Englyshe men preuayled more in
diuers

diuers iourneys & attempts against them, then any generall or French Captaine before could doe by force. These be straunge and rare examples, but generally to conclude: prowesse and force in the person of a Captaine is greatly auaylable. For it is a part of Fortitude, and is called Heroique.

*Heroicum of
most high no-
blesse or va-
lure.*

¶ *Of Iustice.*

Cap. v.

Then followeth the third vertue Iustice, which is a deuyne motion or affection of the mind to deale vprightly, and to render vnto euery man that which vnto him belongeth. Yt may be called a deuyne vertue, for that it procedeth principally of the feare of GOD, who is the head and fountaine of all Iustice, by whom al power is geeuen, to bee duely vsed and administred. And hee is the most high and æternall Iudge ouer all. This vertue is one of the braunches of pyetie, by which good and vpright men be called godly, or like vn to God. The other part or braunch of pietye, is to serue God religiously, and duely, which because it ought to bee a ground worke, proper vnto euery Christian man: therefore haue I not noted the same as a peculier or perticuler vertue heare: But I say the more Christian the meater Captaine, and the better hee serueth God: the better hee shall hys Prince and Countrey. In this vertue of Iustice the Captaine ought to bee very diligent and circumspect to see as well the iust rewardes of vertue, as the due punishment and correction of tumultes,

*Pius { in deum
in homi-
nes.*

B. i.

rapyne,

rapyne, iniuries, disorder and breach of discipline and lawes of warre, wherein, the quantitie and qualitie with the circumstances of time, person, & place, is to be waighed in iudgement by the paise of wysedome, in the balance of endifferency, hanging vpon the beame and rule of right, that reformation may grow, and not confusion follow thereof: that by example of a few, many may be warned, and yet no such remisse clemencie to be vsed, that negligence of Iustice should breake all good order. But if by faire meanes or perswasion, the euil might be wonne or reformed, it is first so to be assayed, and when none other remedy, then rygour roughly to be extended: How be it, often times the greatnes of the mischiefe requireth sodaine iustice. For in warres, the like time of deliberatiō & staye in iudgement and execution is not giuen, as in peace, for the generall affaires and state of the armie, maye not be stayed or neglected, for priuate causes. And therefore the Captaines dome, order, or sentence, in this case of spedie Iustice, standeth for law, and is called martial lawe. This lawe king Artaxerxes vsed towardes Artabanus, whē he had slaine his father Xerxes, and his brother Darius, conspiring also to dispatche him, and vsurpe the Empyre: After that he had certaine & secrete vnderstanding thereof, because that for the great power of him and his sonnes, yt was daungerous to apprehende him, he discloseth the same vnto some of his trusty friendes, and calling Artabanus out of the

When martial lawe is to be vsed, and how.

the armye, fayning that he would chaunge his armour with him, when he had put of the same, the King remayning stil armed, thrust him thorough with his sward, and so deliuered his estate from daunger. King Asverus likewise, caused Aman & his sonnes to be sodainly apprehēded & executed, because that thorough their great power, the stay thereof had bene daungerous. How be it this kind of Iustice, is in the greatest extremitie. But the martiall Law or sentence, would be vsed and executed vnder this forme and order, that the generall calling vnto him such of the Captaines and principall persons of the Army, as he shall thinke conuenient thereunto, reciting shortly the maner of the offence, the mischief that might grow therof, the odiousnes and villanye of vnnatural Treason, and dissention within an armye, tending to the ouerthrowen of most valiant & worthy personages, of most honorable attemptes, and purposes, the quayling of most great and high endeouours before in that seruice vsed, and to the miserable spoyle of the whole army, with the decay and dishonour of the countrey of whence they are: and there with all the proofes being heard, and openly declared, to geue iudgement according to the nature of the offence, and commit ouer order, for executing the same. And sometime for the better satisfiing of the army (if time permit) it is conuenient for the punishment of criminall causes, to referre the hearinge thereof to the Captaines of

B. ij.

euey

Cap. 5.

The first booke.

Exod. 18.

Iethro gaue counsaile vnto Moyses to make the like distribution and comission of the comen affaires vnto other, that being eased of a great part of that burden, he might better attend to the more waightie causes.

Ambition disturbeth wel ordered states.

Enuious and peruerse men of disposition.

euery bande, and certaine of them to speake theyr mindes, for the qualitie and odiousnes of the offence, with some admonishment at the last to the rest of the hearers. And sometime, it is policie to commit the same vnto twelue or more of the manner sort, or commen souldiers, as circumstances may require. And if the partie accused, and vnder iudgement, be a straunger, it is the better order of Iustice, that he haue parte of his triall by some of his owne Countrey, if the matter be playne, that they be not to be suspected of partialitie. And the whilest that other haue the handling of this matter, the generall may the better attend his greater affaires. For the other part of Iustice, what course is best to be taken in rewarding the valure and well deseruing of those, which with great endeuour, labour for fame, to the honour and aduaancement of their Countrey: Herein the good iudgement of the Captaine, is to be exercised, for wel noting, and right regarding the dispositions, endeuours, and doinges of each person. For some are geeuen not to make challenge, or claime, of theyr owne proper deedes and vertues, other will make large report and ostentation of that which they do, setting the same artificially forthe, to the vtter most, and further, sometime clothing themselves with that which they neuer sponne, and thrusting into the glorie of other mens desertes. And diuers there are of disposition to extenuate, and seeme to make lesse the vertues of other, whom they cannot matche

matche in valure. And therefore sith that honour is the right reward of vertue (as the Philosophers agree) & that *Laudata virtus crescit*, and *Honos alit artes*: commended vertue encrease, and honour is the nouryce of valure, which maketh men to excell in practises, the Captaine ought to be wyse, to sifte & perceiue such knackes & cunning colours, from substāce, that he be a iust distributer of the due salaire, and rewarde vnto the vertuous, without affection or parciality, that they beyng encouraged, encrease, & not discouraged, cease from well doinge. Moreouer for the maner of rewardes, there is cōsyderation to be had of the person, thus, if he be poore, he may be somewhat enryched thereby, if he meane to bee a continuer in the seruice of warre, to geue him a more highe place, & greater charge in the armie, to call him vnto the more wayghtye & secrete affaires. If he be one that needeth or seeketh not wealth, let him haue credite, honour, & aucthoritye the more, vse all curtesye towardes him, findinge meanes to knowe hys delighte, wherewith, most to gladde or gratifie him, as with horse, Armour, some rare lewell, or other acceptable thinge, to geue him, where euer he goe, speache of credite, honorable commendation and report: If he desier to become expert in the knowledge of warre: by all curtesye and meanes to further hym thereunto, so that (as neare as maye bee) euerye man accordynge to hys desyre and mynde bee contented. And this due fourme of
iustice

iustice obserued, with the conformitie of his other dealinges, shalbe vnto the Captaine, a foundation of most highe enterprises. For the generall, performing towards the souldiers, al that on his part is to be perfourmed: he may the better expostulate and requyre in them their endeouours and duityes, which also they will the more willingly doe, if they be wel paied of their wages, which principally must be prouided for, for money is the synewes of warre, & the Captaine ought not to suspende or delaye the paye of the same any time, except for especiall occasion. When the generall oweth not vnto the souldier, but he hath his wages payed, he may franklye comaund him to any seruyce of the warres. Furthermore this vertue of Iustice chiefe-lye preferueth the dygnitie of the Captaine, that the souldyers loue him, feare him, and reuerence him, for this is the hoope and bande that bindeth fast together, and strengthneth all the state and affaires of the warre. This Iustice in the Captaine includeth two other vertues: that he be liberal where cause is, and to be temperate and continent of his lust and affections to any other vanitie. Temperance is generally defined in this Latine verse, *Est virtus placitis abstinuisse bonis*: A vertue of refrayning or abstinence from alluring euils, whether it be couetousnes, ambition, wanton pleasures, or such like. For modestie of Magistrates or Gouvernours, due obseruation of iustice, and iust distributing of honours, preferueth states from sedition. This vertue,
great

greate Alexander, to his greatest honour, vsed to-
wardes the captiue daughters of Darius. And Sci-
pio after the expugnation and winnyng of new
Carthage in Spayne, the wyfe of Luceius (a Prince
of that Countrey) of most rare & excellent beaw-
tye beyng brought vnto him, he sent her, and all
that she had saufe, and vntouched, very honorablie
also accompanied home vnto her husband. The
fame of whose singuler vertue, & knightlye parte,
afterwardes procured him great honour of the
Spanierdes, with much helpe and furtherance in
his warres there. The want of which vertue, cau-
sed Marcus Antonius to be surprised in the daly-
ance of Cleopatra, neglecting his warres, and de-
fence, whereby he was ouerthrowen of Augustus
Cæsar. Holifernes by like vice was curtoled of
his head, and the huge hoste of the Assyrians dys-
persed. The valure of Sampson by like doting was
cut of. The Empires and Monarchyes of the A-
syriens and Persians sonke in delicate pleasures,
and in intemperance were lost, & all is the spoyle
of the hardie, manlike, and martial souldier, which
ough, tlike the noble knight Hypolitus to flye the
baytes of effeminate wantonnesse, and synke of in-
téperance, seking to reach the Banner of renowne
in the highest toppe of vertues tower, following
valiant exercises, which maketh the bodie stronge
and healthye, and the person honorable; the other
hath contrarie effectes,

¶ Of

¶ Of Prudence, the fourth vertue in a Captaine.

*VV*se Ianus
is paynted
with two fa-
ces, one looking
towards
things past,
the other to
that which
is to come.

PRudence, is an excellent vertue (as necessarye
as any thing for our Captaine) which by good
aduise, & prudent foresight, guydeth the presēt af-
fares in the best course and state, conferring them
with thinges past, and prouidinge for thinges to
come. This Prudence must haue deliberate cōside-
ration of all circumstāces, by iudgement to soude
and search the depthe of that which is doubtful, it
is the Rule almost of all his doinges, whereby he
deuiseeth, disposeth and ordereth them, as for due
consideration of the quality of his souldiers, good
arraye of his Battailles, diligent espyall of his ene-
mies doynges, due estimation of thē, for the opor-
tunitye, and occasion of takyng of any aduantage,
and for the auoydinge of all inconueniences, for
the prouision of all necessities for the campe, for
vsynge the endeouours of euery one, as he is most
mete, for the assocyinge vnto his weighty and se-
crete counsailes and practises, men of iudgement
wise, of inuention politike, and trust approued.
And how to trye, and finde the trustye: prudence
also, by meanes discerneth. For all thy deuises, ex-
cept they be concealed, and close kept from the
enemy, til the time of practise of the same, they be
seeldōe auailable, & oftentimes hurtful. And as the
good cōsideration & iudgemēt of a Captaine is to
be sene in those pointes before remēbred, & ought
euer to accompanye his doinges: So is inuention
requisyte

requysite vnto hym, to deuysse how to cutt of the strength of the enemye, or circumuent hym, for by this, manie thinges haue ben atchieued, which force could not winne. What the policie of Cinon and Vlisses at the battaill of Troye, and Zopyrus amonge the Babilonians auayled, it is notoriously knowne. This inuentiō, and cunninge to entrapp the enemye, Hanniball had at will, and oftentimes plagued the Romaines there with all. but at the last when he had remayned diuers yeares in Italye, wastinge and destroyinge of the coūtre, & the Romaines could by no meanes dryue him foorth, Cornelius Scipio founde out the waye to ryd him, geuinge this prudent aduise vnto the Romaines, that they should sende an armye to inuade Affricke, and besyege Carthage, whiche was the head of the enemies Empyre, shewing that the stroke at the head as it is most daungerous: so it is most feared: & as when the harte is afrayde, the bloud resorteth from other partes, vnto the comfort thereof, as the principall storehouse of lyfe: So sayd Scipio, the Carthaginoys pinched with warres at home, will sende for their powers abroad to succour them, & kepe saute the home stall. Which hapned and fell out accordinglye, that Hanniball leauinge Italye, and retourninge into Affricke to defende his owne countrey, and resist the Romaine armye ledd thither by Scipio, was there by him ouerthrowne, Carthage taken, and Affricke subdued. So remooued he the daun-

ger & ruine by excellent inuention from Roome, and caryed the same vnto Carthage. was it not a famous policie of Henrie the fifth, at the battaill of Agincourt, when the power of the French mē stood most vpon horsemen armed with heauie armour, to cause the fiele to bee pitched full of sharpe stakes when they should inuade his battail? which withdrawinge, till they were come vppon the stakes, then had hee placed his archers in an Iland or plott so inuironned or surrounded, that they might saufelic shoote at the enemie, and hee not come to hurte them, by which traine and order, the French hoste tumblinge downe in disorder, was ouerthrowne: whiche inuention is the more honorable, for that it is credible to be of the kynges owne deuisinge. About the time of the takinge of Bullen, by kyng Henrie the eyght, this practise was vsed by a noble Englyshe Captayne, for the winninge of a towne (which was defended on the weaker parte thereof by a marishe, so that ordynaunce could not bee planted to batter the same) he caused pieces of light wood to be secretlye made, and cunninglye painted like gunnes, and layinge bordes vppon the marishe, so conueyed ouer his disguysed ordinaunce, by terror whereof at the first summons hastelic made, with great manasse and shewe of the pretended batterye: the towne rendred and yelded vppe vnto him. Great Alexander vsed this cūninge to gett a fort of wonderfull strength, hee conueyed a fewe actiue men vnarmed

vnarmed, vp to a rocke, not doubted or loked vnto of the enemye, for the steepenesse and difficultie to bee clymmed, and when they had possessed the toppe thereof, beinge nigh the walles, where they might greatlie annoy them within the houlde, makinge a great shoute, or noyse of triumph on a loudaine, and aduauncinge their banners as though there had been a great parte of the armye with them and all sure their owne, Alexander also on the other syde then fiercelie skalinge the walles, the people within, beeynge stryken with great feare, and in a maze, the Castell was easelie by him surprised & taken. Thus to conclude of this vertue of Prudence; it is the lyne of the Captaine, to measure hys owne doynge, the touchestone, and the syue to trye & sift the sleighes of the enemye, to discerne the substaunce frō the shadow, to shunne hys trappe, not to bee abused by anie paynted or coloured crafte. And this vertue encludeth in it constancie, without which, a man is no man, for as well, without reason, as without iudgement or resolution, in time to vse the same, after cōsultation and good aduifement hadd, speadye executyon shoulde followe.

¶ Of the loue and diligent regarde of the Captayne vnto his souldiours. Cap. 7.

THe last parte of the furniture, whiche armethe our Captayne complete, is a tender affectiō & diligēt regarde vnto his souldiers. So that a good
C.ij. mynde

*Causes of af-
fection and
frendship.*

mynde well and vertuouſlie enclined and diſpoſed, ſerueth not, without diligence in exercyſinge and geuinge forthe the fruites thereof. And therefore a Captaine, beſydes his prouident care and ſtudie of the generall and publicke weale, and affaires of his armye, ought alſo to reſpect the ſtate and neceſſities of pryuate perſones and commen ſouldiers. And therefore if the gouernours of Ciuill eſtates, haue been called fathers, as the Sena-
tours of Roome had firſt that name, to remember them of the fatherlie affeccion and care, whyche they ought to beare towards the people: muche more ought the generall, ouer his martiall commō weale to haue a fatherlie minde and regarde, for the ſouldier leaueth father, all his frendes, and eſtate of liuinge at home, to followe his captaine in foreine countrey, committinge his life and all, to the guyde and good fortune of him. And if lyke deſyers, with concorde of ſtudies, affeccions, and continuance of conuerſatiō of life, do cauſe moſt entier loue, and ſtronge bande & league of frendſhyp: much more, ought this ſocyetie of myndes, linked and ioyned in honourable deſyres and purpoſe, with the vowed felowſhippe of bodies in all perylles, (yea in life and in death) vnyte the hartes of the captaine and ſouldiers, in moſt deare affection and amitie, which the captaine ought to profeſſe towards his ſouldiers, & they eche towards other, If the ſouldier be ſicke or hurte, the Captaine muſt prouide Phiſitions, or Chirurgien for him,

him, if he be troubled in minde, he ought to be hys friende to visite him, and comfort him, to further his desires, and endeouours, to encourage him, if he be a worthy souldier, to conferre with him some time familiarly of his estate, and to further and deuise how to encrease and amende the same, as wel in the armie, as at home. For perchaunce hee hath none other friende to cherishe, or to haue regarde vnto him in the armie, if he be iniuried, he hath not the commen ayde, and helpe of lawe for his money, as in peace he may. Therefore the Captayne must be his staye, & helpe in all his necessities. And least it be obiected, that if he had Argos eyes, hee cannot see the wantes of all men, and leasure will not at all times suffer to discharge the partes aboue requyred (to preuent the same) I say, he must onelye extend his diligence, as farre as maye be herein. Xenophon wrote vnto king Cyrus, that a Gouernour ought to be towards his people kinde, as a father towards his children. To note some examples of thys vertue, we readeth that the great kinge Mithridates vsed such diligence, and had such regarde vnto all his comen souldier, that of a great armie, he coulde call euery man, priuatelye by hys name, and hauinge people of more then xx. seuerall natiōs, & languages, he would talke vnto them all familiarly in their proper Coūtreys speache. The great king Cyrus before remēbred, which fouled the Monarchie of the Persians, vsed great affabilitie towards his souldiers. The excellent Cap-
tayne

tayne Scipio, is noted, and honoured for this curtesie. Alexander the great, passinge some daies in the desertes, & barrē drye places of Arabia, where as no water was to be foude, so that both the army & himself weare pained with great thirst, & almost intollerable, in this neade, a comen souldiour, had by great trauayll, gotten one helmet full of water, and brought it vnto the kinge: which when he had receaued very thankfullie, he powred it out vpon the ground, shewing him selfe willing to be partaker of the comē want & necessitie of his armie, whereby the rest seeing the abstinence and noble minde of their Gouvernour, forgott the pinche of theyr thirst, & prepared them selues to suffer any hardnesse, and not to bee weryed, but constantlie to continue, to ouercome all labours & difficulties. The same Alexander no greater in power, then in noble vertue of minde, an other time passinge a iourney in extreme, & intollerable frost, & sharpe weather, with rough & vncomfortable wayes, findinge a souldiour stiffe, & almost dead with cold of the percynge ayer, he caused him presentlie to be caryed into his tente, & theare being sett in his owne chayer, he sawe him tenderlye dressed, and cherished, geuinge vnto him of his owne clothes to keape him warme. Caius Iulius, hauing Alexāders minde in manye thinges, so did he no lesse tender and regarde his souldiers, when he went to battaile, he woulde saye, come fellowe souldiours, goe we together, and call them sometyme
good

good friendes. Charles the fifth, beinge a great Emperour, and of notable skill, and practise in warres, endued also with sundrye noble vertues, ridynge thoroughe his Campe, to viewe the state of the same, a commen souldiour sicke, and wantinge necessaryes, cryed out, and rayled vpon him bitterlye, wishinge a vengeance, and the diuell on hym, for that in his seruice beinge fallen into infirmitye, & disease, now had he neither knowledge nor helpe of him: the Emperour mildelye answered, good woordes my good souldiour, and thou shalt not want the helpe that may bee had. Now to conclude: thys vertue, not paynfull to plant in thy maners, and exercise in actions and deedes, yet it bringeth great and happy fruites, for it procureth such loue and honour of the Souldiour to the Captaine, that thereby he possesseth the more safetie of person, and quiet of minde, he purchaseth greater fame at home, and abroad, his attemptes & affaires procede the better to effecte, for it maketh the endeuour of the Souldiour wonderfull. Loue is the surest armour that a Gouvernour or Captaine can put on, and faithfulness is not by fee, nor feare to be crased or corrupted.

*¶ Whether it be more expedient to haue one
Generall, or manye. Cap. 8.*

NOW to discusse by the examples of antiquity, & argumēts of reason, whether it be conueniēt to
haue

haue more then one generall, or highe Captayne of the Armie; Belinus and Brennus two Princes, beyng brothers, were ioyntlye gouernours ouer their armie, with which they subdued a great parte of Fraunce, Germanye, and Italye. Fabius, and Porfenna, were likewise constituted ouer the Romaine armie, against the same Belinus and Brennus. Romulus and Remus, by equall aucthoritie guyding their armie, surprised the Cytie of Alba. King Mithridates, & Tigranes, ioyntly, lead their powers against the Romaines. Cassius, & Brutus, were ioygned generalles against Octavius Cæsar, and Antonius. Fabius & Minutius, were thought to be well matched together against Hanniball: the one graue, and somewhat slowe by his age, the other hott, quicke, and lusty, the one excelling in aduise and experience, the other better able to styrr and endure paynes. So that albeit, it hath bene more vsed, to ordayne, and depute one onely generall ouer an armie, yet twayne may doe very well, as it appeareth by the examples before recited, which may the rather be allowed, for that the one Generall being sicke, hurt, or slayne, yet the Armie is not destitute of a heade, or guide. which sometime is the cause of losse of a battaile, the head beeing striken and Captayne slayne, the bodie of the armie standeth in a maze, and is highlie discomfited, and oftentimes honourable attempres cease thereby, and goe backwardes, as Crassus, by Parthian falshood slaine, the relyques
of

of his armie were shortlie destroyed. Antonius, in his great battaile on the Sea, against Octavius Augustus, flyng, or rather following Cleopatra, his whole army was ēforced to yelde vnto Cæsar. Brennus, as Iustine writeth, beinge dead of hurtes in battaile receaued in Grecia, his purposed conquestes in those partes ceased, and his armie dysperfed: all that they had gotten beefore, was lost for lacke of a good guyde. Great Alexander beinge dead, the glorie of Macedonie dyed, their victories proceeded no farther, their armies returned, and tourned to discention and diuision among them selues: whereby the Empyre was rent and skambled, and shortlie after taken from them by the Romaines. So that, where there hath been but one head or guyde of the warres, the same beinge cutt of, for the most parte the warrfare hath ended and expired with all: whereas if there had been two generals ordayned, ioyned in auctoritie, or else successiuelye three or fower, one after an other nominated & appointed after the death or losse of the generall, to supplie the place, and to establishe the state of the armie, the warres myght still proceade, vntill the purpose & desired fruites thereof bee obtained. But more then two generals of one armie at once, I can not finde by any good president allowed. Nicias Alcibiades, & Lamachus, were sent as Generals by the Atheniens into Sicilia, & atchieued littel there, & likewise Tideus Adimatus & Menader, against the Lacedemoniēs.

¶ Of the aucthoritie of the generall, and what ought to
 bee hys chiefe desyre, wished frutes, and ende
 of warres. what personne, and of what
 qualities, ought to be esteemed the
 best and most honourable
 Capitayne. Cap. 9.

THE place and state of a generall is highe, his cre-
 dite, his power, and charge great, and therefore
 his aucthoritie from the prince by or vnder whō
 he is deputed and ordeyned, ought to be great, To
 punishe and pardon, to erect, exalt, & pull downe,
 to take order, or truce with the enemye, to receaue
 hostages, remitt prisoners, raunsomes and tributes,
 to geue lawes, libertie, lordshyp, bandes, condici-
 ons of captiuitie to the conquered, to ioygne or
 breake foreine frendshippe vpon vrgent cause, and
 not otherwise, to impart vnto the souldiers, frank-
 lie of that which is taken and wonne, to aslygne
 victorious ensignes and solempnitye of honour &
 prowesse, to geue aduauncement of degrees and
 dignities vnto the worthy. He maye also leuye, for
 the great necessitie of the armie, vpon the prynces
 subiectes where he serueth, & borrowe or receaue
 ayde of the princes frendes, and herein extende
 his maisters credite, and the prynce is bounde in
 honour, to ratifie, allowe, & perfourme thus farre,
 the dealinge of the generall, by him deputed and
 appointed, which is also at all times remouable at
 the pleasure of the prynce, at whose commaunde-
 ment

mēt the warres cease, ende, or otherwise be turned,
And the Captaine, ought not to make or establish
peace without the consent, will, and auctoritie of
the prince, nor to render anie towne, countrey, or
forte conquered, except for great aduantage or
extreame necessitie. Hystories are full of exam-
ples, to prooue the perticulers before recyted, to
bee incident to the function of a generall, and
therefore in a matter not doubtfull, I will cyte but
onely the large graunt of Gaius Martius, generall
of an armye of the Romaines: on a time when a
battaill went verie harde with him, hauinge in
hys armie, fifteene hundred hyred Souldiours,
of whose trust and endeuour he doubted, consy-
deringe the strayghtes and daunger wherein hys
armye stode, he promised vnto his sayd straūge
retinue, that if they woulde extend their valure
to the wynnynge of the fiede, to make euerye
man of them a Cytyzen, and free of Roome:
whiche in that time was a thinge hyghlie regar-
ded of straungers, for the honour, great aduaun-
tages, and noble fraunchyses thereof, wherewith
beeinge encouraged, they spared not to hazarde
their lyues, vsinge suche endeuour that the fiede
was wonne. And notwyth standynge that by the
ordynaunces of the Cytye, no man myght bee
made a Cytizen without the cōsent of the Senate,
yet hee alleagynge beefore them, that necessy-
tye is aboue lawe, and that then tyme serued
not to secke the lawes, but rather requyred to

D.ij.

breake

breake them, hee obtayned the graunted freedom vnto the souldiours, and honourablye hys promise was perfourmed. And it is not inconuenient, that the prynce should geue hym credit, power, and aucthoritie in smaller matters, vnto whose order and wisedome hee hath committed an armie, which is the strength of the princes estate. which trust if it can not saufely be committed vnto one, it were better to ioyne an other in gouernment vnto him, then that the place of the generall shoulde lacke or bee lame of power. Nowe to see what the generall ought to desyre or seeke to gaine by the warres, infinite examples of the antiquitie do shew, especially in the most flourishing estates of Roome & Grecia, where vertue & valure were chiefly fostered, all the most excellēt Captaynes sought and endeouored by victoryes to purchase fame vnto them selues, honour, and aduauncement vnto their countreys, and common wealthes which they loued so dearelie, and regarded so highlie, that their endeouours (vsed & employed for the benefit of the same) seeme to surmount almost the power of men, and also credite. Glad was he which by dying valiantly, could singularlye profite his countrey. As Brutus the first Consul, Horatius Cocles, the two Decij, Curtius, Atilius Regulus, Scauola, Lucinius Dentatus, Codrus, Leonidas, and iiij. hundred gentlemē of Lacedemon with him. And of the spoiles & prises of their conquests, the great captaines of Roome
and

and Grecia enriched them selues little, but rendered all to the publique treasure, & behoufe of the comen wealth. So that diuers Dictatoures (which was the place of a great Prince, and Gouvernour, ouer the whole Empyre, duringe the time of the warres) after the same finished, and great kinges by them conquered, and lead in triumphe with all their treasures, and substance, yet haue they returned little the richer (for all that which passed thorough their handes) to their oulde state, and meane degree of liuyng, from whence they weare called, not for their Lordship, but for their vertues. And some of them after, liuyng thriftelye of a little, haue dyed possessed of so short substance: that for the iust honour of their funeralles, due vnto personages of so great vertues, for want of their owne abilitie, the comen Treasure hath supplied the charges, and expences thereunto. And though some esteeme fame as a bare rewarde, without fruites of profit, yet they regarded nothing of riches in comparison of honour. The Romaines ordained for honour to victours, & cōquerours, triumphes, whearein their Generall returninge in great pompe from the warres, all his Captaines & spoyle following his Emperiall charyot, he was with his Armie receaued of his Countrey with all ioye and honour that might be deuised, erectinge also for the perpetuall fame, and memory of such as had greatly aduanced their Countrey, images set vp in open places, with inscriptions: This was
the

Arist. polit. 3.
He loseth the
name of a
good Ciizen,
which preferreth
priuate
profit, before
the comen
weale.

the father of his countrey. This was the champion of Roome, & terrour of their enemyes. And for priuat, & meane souldiours, which first had boarded a ship of the enemyes, entred their campe, or Towne, saued a Citizen, slayne a Captaine of the enemyes, gotten an auncient, broken a rancke, or atchieued any great exploite, they ordayned crownes of siluer, braccellets, & collers of goulde, with such like conisaunces, the worthy wearinge whereof, the souldiours esteemed as much, as of great seigniorye. Whereof there is an example, written of a certaine yonge man, in the Armie of Scipio, which had done marueylous deades of Armes in a battaile of his, so that he had deserued such a like rewarde of prowesse, as is spoken of before, in liewe whereof, Scipio thinkinge better to content hym, gaue him a great substaunce of goulde, exhorting him to continew manlike & valiaunt; but he, verye sadde, threwe downe the monye at Scipio his feete, who demaunding of hym, whether hee would rather haue the appoynted rewarde, and ensigne of manhoode, hee aunswered, that therefore he had trauayled: preferringe worshippe aboue ryches. The Generall ought to gyue great regarde both by hymselfe, and by others, which without partialitye, maye bee markers and obseruers, of such as best deserue in battaile. And moreouer, the most expert and valiaunt men shoulde bee from one place, vnto another, aduaunced to the hyghest degrees, and

and offices in the Armye, that the commendation, and rewarde bee duelie assigned, accordinge to desert. Also he must obserue, and execute the lawes, and orders of warre, for there is no Arte without rules, and in none more necessarye rules, then in this: wherein also disorder most of all hurteth, as neglygence in the watche, or warde, in espyall for ditcoueringe the Countrey, where the Armye sojourneth or is to passe, wante of furniture, or any prouision allowed, or charged vnto any man, breache of arraye, mutyne, affraye, ryott, faylinge of duetye in any poynte, or transgressinge the Captaynes commaundement, which muste stande for a lawe, and rule vnto the Souldiours. These misdemeanours, and offences, the victoryous Romaines punished streyghtlye, yea sometye thoughe aduantage, and benefite grewe vnto the Armye, by exceedinge the Generalles commaundement, yet the Captayne in thys offence, hath not spared hys owne Sonne, from sharpe Iustice, and punishment of the lawe, and ordinaunce violated. For the due keepinge of Lawes, and orders, is the staye of all the affayres of VVarre. Also the Captayne hath muche more neade to bee wyse in iudgement, then the ciuill Magistrate in peace, for that hee hathe not so manye assystentes, to ayde hym in counsaile, neyther like leasure in deliberation, and aduise: Some time hauinge sodayne dangerous comminge on, to disturbe,
and

and interupt the same. Sodaine passions, (saye the Philosophers) troubleth, and disordreth the minde, and quiete establissheth the vnderstandinge, and ripenethe counsailes. The greke Philosopher Iſocrates sheweth, that two sortes of men there are to be commended. First he which is of his iudgement, able to geue good aduise, the other that is of wisdom to vnderstande good counsaile gyuen by an other, and of inclination to followe the same: diligence and good will supplieth a number of wantes. There hath bene diuers Generalls of great vertue in trayning of their souldiours, beinge able of their owne practise, to instructe them in all feates, and pointes of a Souldier, as in well vsinge of armes and weapons of warres, bothe on horsebacke, and on foote, in chosinge and appointing fitt, and good furniture for euery man, and euerye purpose to encounter the ordinaunce and engins of the aduersaries, by policie planting, and hardye, and victorious minde in their souldiours. In which Cyrus, Romul^o, Paul^o Æmilius, Scipio, Hannibal, & Caius Cæsar, chiefly excelled. How be it that Captaine, which is able wel to leade, and gouerne an army trayned, ordered, and martialled to his hande is also to be cōmended, and the better, if he vse consideration, and diligence in taking order, that his souldiours may practise the exercises, profitable for the warres. It is to be regarded, that the Captaine be generally of good nature & disposition, not subiecte to malitious anger, crueltye,

eltie, or enuie, that hee haue his conuersation and conference with the most vertuous and best affected sorte, to suppress wrongfull dealyng and ryot, the mother of disorder and ruine. The Emperour Charles the fifte was cōmended of great sobrietie and diligence in his affaires, and to be verie skilfull in settinge and orderinge his battailes, for anie aduauntage. The Captayne ought to flye the faulte of infidelitie and vntrothe, as from a rocke. For there is no regarde to bee hadde of the man that is not iust & honest, and firme of his woorde, but fycle and variable of promise, which ought alwaies to bee perfourmed towards souldiours, frende, & enemye. The breache whereof hath manye times bread great myseries, and brought great wracke: as Laodislaus kinge of Hungarie, vppon presumption of dispensation frō the Pope, breakinge his faythe geeuen, and league made wyth the Turke, fell afterwarde into his handes & crueltye. The Carthaginoys, breakinge league made with the Romaines, and afterwarde beeing in parle, and towards a composition or ende verie necessarie & greatlie desired of the Carthaginens, the Romaines demaunded of them what pledges of their trothe they coulde geeue, or what newe Gods they had now to swcare by, & vowe the perfourmaunce of the cōdicions agreed, seeing they had sworne by all their Goddes before, & had deceaued in breakinge their othe: Hasdruball a famous Captaine, one of the companie, answered,

E. j.

wcc.

we sweare agayne by the same Godds, which now both wee, & you ought better to regarde, for that they haue reuenged by you sharpelie our periurie & othe breakinge; but the Carthaginoyes continued in their falsehode, and eftsones violated their fayth; wherefore the Romaines determined finallie, not to cease, or geeue ouer warres against them, till they had vtterlie ouerthrowne them, subuerted and destroyed their Cytie and estate, which their iust plague followed. A noble example, for the due regardinge of his fayth, and othe, shewed Regulus before mencioned, a generall of the Romaine armie, taken prisoner by the Carthaginoyes, and dismissed vppon his othe to retourne, if hee did not entreate and obtaine of the Senate of Roome, the exchange and deliuerie of diuers great Captaines of Carthage, whom before hee had taken prisoners, whiche thinge himselfe dissuaded the Romaines from, for the beehoufe of the commen wealthe in diuers weightie respectes, and so retourned to Carthage vnto his determined death. Also the general may do much the better if he be able to be his owne secretarie, to endicte orderlie, and aptlie, in his affaires, and to perswade in mutiue discention and case of neede, to vnderstand languages, to reade with iudgemēt in hystories, of the dealinges and stratagemes of great princes & captaines in like affaires, for surelie, the greatest captaines that euer were, & almost all those chiefetaines & conquerours of antiquitie were

were wel lerned. An other thing also there is which maketh a captaine most honourable, & to be as a father vnto his countrey, that is, after warres ended, if he can frame him selfe to peace, good gouernment, & to be as profitable vnto the cyuill estate by his industrie & policie, as he was by his valure in the warres. So to conclude, though it be harde to tynde a martiall man, so farreforth furnished with all ciuill vertues as before recyted: yet is it not like Tullies oratour, or Sir Thomas Moores commonwealthe, which represent a shadowe, & not a substance, discoursing of matter like a dreame to bee imagined, & not possible to bee followed, or in such perfection as they preciselie picture to be accomplished. But examples of such chieftaines as I write of, I haue cyted some, affirming that he may be a good captaine, though he wat of those partes before declared some thing, but the more bright & resplendent light of vertues that hee geueth forth by his exāple, the more honourable he is, the more plerifull is the hope of his successe, the more prosperously he proceade his affaires, the more good he doth to his armie. It may wel be sayde, *Principis exemplo totus componitur nobis*. According to the president of the prince, or chieftaine, the subiect conformeth his fashions, & endeuoureth his deedes.

¶ *Of a souldiour, & the qualities which he ought to haue. Cap. 10.*

THe Souldiour in good course must now follow his captaine. And first we are to shewe the qualities & disposition of mynde requysite vnto him.

Deutero. 20.

For all be it, hee ought to bee affected and enclyned vnto vertue, no lesse then the Captaine, yet is it in an other sorte, for the difference of their places, functions, and doynges. For there are dyuers thinges, which appertayne vnto the callinge and exercise of a Captaine, whiche beelonge not to a common souldiour: as for rule, and gouernment, politique order and iudgement in the generall affaires, magnificent and bountifull deedes. But the souldiour ought in like sorte, to be a cyuill manne, to feare God, and liue orderlie in his degree, as it behooueth the Captaine, beinge in daylie daungers of deathe, whiche are alwayes lesse feared of him which hath an honest and well prepared minde, voide of the horreur and burthen of lewde and dissolute dealinges liynge vpon his conscience. Suche a good souldiour was the Centurion, of whom our Lorde and Sauour in the viij. of saint Mathæw sayeth, that hee founde not greater faythe in Israel, then in him. And such was the deuoute Cornelius, spoken of in the tenth of the Actes of the Apostles. And it is seldome or neuer seene the dissolute person to prooue a profitable souldier, as if he be an idle, vnruilie, blasphemous, or licentious manne of lyuinge, a ryotous dyceplayer or iangler, such bee more meete for an Alehouse then an army. Wherefore good souldiour, take thy beginninge of God, Remember first and chyefelie to dyscharge thy duetye towards him. For wythoute hym noe trauaile bringeth foorth fruite

fruite, no pollicy, or purpose planted taketh roote, or effecte. Then oughtest thou next to seake with all diligence, the honour, profit, and sauegard of thy Countrey, which hath bred thee, and nourished thee. The same thou art bounde, most steadfastlye in thy mynde to hould more deare then thy life: for the preferment whereof, and for the generall good of the armye, no daunger in reasonable sorte is to be refused, no endeouour omitted. For it is better like a man to dye, for the behoufe of manye, then by cowardyse to bee slayne with manye. The Souldiour also in his degree, ought to fauour Iustice and right, to defende the honest & vertuous from oppression, to be louinge & helpefull after his power, vnto his fellowe souldiour. Moreouer it is requisite that he be hardye, constant, and valiaunt, to endure the brutes difficulties, and chaunces of warrefare. Yt beseemeth him to bee hyghe mynded (I meane not proude, but rather the contrarye) to endeouour to climbe to the highest top of vertue, and valure. He ought to vse exercises of armes, for encrease of force, & actiuitie, to be diligent, and perfecte in the partes of a souldiour, to keape the orders, & lawes of warre. He must be tractable, and obedient to the commandement of his Captayne, and that without styckinge, for he is to houlde for assured, that the Generall, to whom for his skill, and vertues, the Prince, and counsaile, hath committed the strength of the estate, is a person sufficyent well to guyde
the

*Effeminate-
nes is contra-
rye to force &
manlynesse.*

the same, which will by wisdom, and sound ad-
uise, order, & dispose his affayres. Yt is not com-
mendable in a souldiour to be full of tongue, or a
busie bodie, but he should be secrete and sober. It
is not conuenient for him to bee nicelie accusto-
med, but to endure hardnes of lyuinge, in foode
& trauaile. VVherefore the martiall knightes of
Roome, which brought vp their children to serue
their countrey honourably in the warres, they vsed
them not dayntilie in dyer, or curiouslye in clo-
thing, but caused them diligentlie to be instruc-
ted in vertue, and perfectlie practised in manlike
martiall exercises. Licurgus expellinge all idelnes
and wantonnes, from the well gouerned estate of
Lacedæmon, caused the youthe to dyne & suppe
abrode in comen places, with an ordinarye fare,
harde & short, to cutt of excesse & ryot, the nourice
of slouth, & that they should not sit longe at their
meate, but be soone gone to the publique exercy-
ses, and profitable studyes appointed for them.
Delicate custome, and lycentious liuyng spoyled
of all valure, the victorious and most redoubted
army of Hanniball, wallowinge one wynter in the
pleintifull pleasures, and fine fashyons of the cu-
ryous Citizens of Capua, wheare they sojourned,
by which the iuste reproofe followed, and was
imputed vnto their Captayne, that hee hadde the
skill and way to conquere, but he knewe not how
to vse and prosecute his victories. For if hee had
pursued the Romaines after the great overthrow
which

which he gaue them at Cannæ, and not runne his Armye on the rocke of ryott, restinge out of time, and waxinge restife by pleasures in Capua: Roome had neuer rylen in seigniorye, or Empyre to bee the loftye Ladie, and Regient of the world, which then beeing downe, when hee oppressed not by his slackenes, shee toke breath agayne, and recovered to his ruyne. By ryott and carelesse rest, in lasciuious lasye pleasures, Marcus Antonius the moste valyaunt Captayne with his Armye was spoyled and vanquished. The great Empyre of the Assiryens sonke in this vice, vnder their Prince Sardanapale, and was subdued. Darius drowned the Persian state in delycate lyfe. Italye of later time tyled in loose and licentious lyuinge, geuinge ouer all vertue, and woorthye excercyses, hath offered occasion, to be so often ouercome by the Hunnes, Gotthes, Sayssers, Spanyerdes, and Frenchmen, and so haue fallen, and shall decaye as manye Nations, as geue ouer them selues to lyke effeminate beastelyke, and slewthfull lyfe. And thearefore those Princes which raygne in reste onelye by fortune, stande vppon wheelles, roulinge towardes ruyne: But the state whiche hath the foundatyon and defence theareof, vpon vertue, is firme, saufe, and permanent. Good Souldyours shoulde lyfte vp their courages to atchyeue moste hyghe and hard thynges, treadinge abiecte ease, & poorishe pesauntlike idlenes vnder foote, and flyinge lasciuious lewde intemperaunce
as from

Moderate
dys.

as from a Scorpion. They ought to contempne dayntines, as a womanlike, and childishe thinge, for the gluttons bodye, or minde, is apte for no good purpose. And yet am I not of his mynde, which woulde haue the souldiour in warrefare, to eate no other breade, or meate, but suche as hym selfe baketh, and dresseth, for, time serueth not euery man alwayes so to doe, and some beinge more vnhandsome in handlinge of the same, their foode should be the lesse healthsome. And other perchāce would be ouer curious, and employe more time thearein, then in the most weyghtie affaires. But it is necessarye that for a neade, euerye souldiour knowe howe of meale, egges, otemeale, oyle, or butter, to bake, and make his foode. Men haue had sustinaunce for a time onely by rootes, and that without any hurt of health. He is not woorthy to enioye the bountifull benefites, & plentyfull prouision, which GOD hath ordayned for the wellfare of men, that cannot sometime without grudging endure some hardnes. For all sortes of men are subiecte vnto necessities, trauayle, and payne, or els this weare no worlde wherein we lyue, but a Heauen, and two heauens a Christian man is not to looke for. Moreouer it is the duetye of a souldiour with all affection, to loue, and honour hys Captaine, not to forsake him for any daunger, he ought to keape close the secreete affayres, that bee committed vnto him, and for no cause to conceale any thinge from him, that maye be hurtfull vnto hym,

him, or the estate of the armie, but hee ought to stretch al his synewes alwaies to profit the same. He must not be ouermuche scrapinge or couetous of spoyle, for so diuers victorious armyes haue bene spoyled and destroyed, whilst they onelie respecting their gaine, haue neglected the enemy, till they haue fallē euen in his mouthe: for sometyme, the enemy hath left hys campe for a trayne that the other in spoilinge thereof, might be surprysed in disorder and easelie vanquished, to mocke thē (with Tantalus his apple, as the Prouerbe is.) plucking the bone or possessed praye, out of their iawes. Great Alexander whē he sawe his hoast ladē, furcharged & wearied with riche spoyle, & also the more sharpelie vrged of the enemy, for desire thereof: he caused all the surplusage of the carryages & stufte to be burned, first beginning with his owne. Be moderate therefore good souldiour in thy doings, and prynt euery parte of thy duetie in prōpt memory: for surely, I write not these wordes of course, but of trothe, with my careful study, serchyng and faythfullie examinynge the poyntes needefull for thy profite, and I trust our most gracious God will geue frutes of our labours to his honour, and our countreys good seruice: whose fauour and blessinge bee with all them, whiche of noble courage, zeale of vertue, and cōtryes loue, desire to vse armes well.

Of what constitution of bodye, trade, and qualitie of lyfe, the best souldiour is to bee chosen: and what exercyses and practises are needefull of hym to be vsed. Cap.ii.

NOwe for the choise of our good souldiour, for the lykelihode of his strength, courage, and actiuitie, to sett downe a precyle order, for the same by his shoulders, brest, armes, thyghes, feete, or composition of anie other parte of the bodye: I houlde it most vayne: seeinge that good iudgement, by the eye discerneth thereof playnelie, and wysedome easelye findeth out fitte exercyses for certayne prooffe and tryall hereof, and it is not possible to haue a great armie of men, so framed in all pointes, but the courage & mynde is as much to bee respected as the bodye. But it is necessarye to bee considered, of what age, trade, and maner of lyuinge, best choise of souldiers maye be made. For their age, the lustiest time of youth for strength, and to endure trauaile, is meetest, as betwene the yeares of two and twentye, and towardes fiftie. How be it, great Alexander had manie of hys best souldiers, aboue those yeares of age. And for their exercyse or trade of lyfe, first it is cleare, that the stronger, better breathed, and harder man of bodie by nature or custome, is the more auaylable for warres: and therefore it is to conclude, that men of suche occupations, as are accustomed most to labour

labour with the strength of their armes, are to bee preferred for this purpose, as smythes, butchers, masons, dyggers in mynes, Carpenters, & most principallie the husbandman, both for his wonted enduringe of hardnes in fare, and of all weathers and toyle in the fiede, beeinge also for the more parte, of honest inclinatio, & thriftie, which be good partes in a souldier. And the daintier sorte of seruinge men & riotous fellowes, are least profitable herein. But the cōmō speache of fencers, that they be neuer good souldiours, proceedeth not of iudgemēt. For though there be of them, as of other men, some faynte fellowes, yet for the more part, that inclynation & delight in the vse of weapons, sheweth some manlike courage, & the practise & skill therein, breedeth hardines: and albeit there be other sortes of weapons vsed in warres, yet the exercyse of these, causeth nimblenes & actiuitie to handle anie other. And therefore if he bee not otherwise vnrule, or naughtelye geuen, he that is practysed and skilfull in vsynge of weapons, is lykelye to prooue a valyaunt and an excellent souldiour. But hee that feareth not to receaue hurte, excepte he knowe howe to inflicte daunger & doe harmes vnto the enemye, is not profitable. And therefore, when there was one cōmended vnto an expert captaine (by his manie skarres of woundes receaued) that he was a great souldier, & a verie man, the captaine asked streight, where is the

F. ij.

man

man which hurt him thus? brynge him vnto mee,
(quod he) & I will entertayne him presentlie, for
in this case I like the geeuer, better then the taker.
Nowe are wee next, to see, what exercyses are
most conuenient and expedient to bee vsed of
souldiours. And generallie, suche are mooste auay-
lable in the seruice of warres, as cause anie of
these effectes: that is to saye, to harden the bodie,
to make it nymbler, stronger, or to bee well brea-
thed, as for the purpose, wraстыnge, shootinge,
dartyng, leaping, casting of great stones, vaw-
ting, swymming, and to labour in armour, hea-
uier then the comen sorte, which is vsed in ser-
uice, for custome maketh labour lyght, as it is pro-
ued by the practyse of Milo, whiche begynninge
to carrie a Calfe into the fielde to pasture, euerie
daye on his necke, hee continued with the same
burthen, till it was growen a great Oxe, addyng
still encrease of goodwil, to supplie the daylie gro-
wing of hys burthen, not sufferyng his force to be
sodaynlie so surmounted, that he woulde at anie
time shrynke or yelde, vnto the trauaile & burthe
of the daye before passed: So that custome, see-
meth to alter or excell nature, eftsones. Nowe the
bodie beeyng made apte and nymble, yet doe
there twoe other exercyses remayne, to bee put
into the practise of a souldiour, for their skyll &
order in warres. The first is, that hee exercyse to
handle hys bowe, peece, pyke, or other weapon
wherwith he shalbe charged, nimble, & cūningly,
that he

that he be able to doe his feate thearewith, and if he be a horseman, skilfullye to vse his horse and staffe, to bee readie to mount or alight nymblye at a becke, for any purpose or aduauntage to bee taken of the enemye. The other practise is, to be perfecte in keapyng the arrayes, ranckes, and orders of warre, in marching, encamping, & fight, or pursute of the enemye, yea, and in reducing, and bringinge them selues againe into any forme of arraye, if perchaunce they shalbe broken or disordered by force of the enemy, & that speedelie, at the voyce of the Captaine, or sounde of Trumpet, or Drumme, (which alwayes stande by him for the same purpose) or by any other noyse, or certayne signe, which hee vseth, sometime secretelie, and sometime open, to geeue out vnderstandinge of his minde, as to marche, or proceade, to retyre, to take this waye or that. And heerein it is to bee certainlye obserued, a thinge by all experience alwaies approued, that no force of men, prouisyon, power, industrie, or furniture can preuaile, without arraye, and order of battaile, against the well appoynted, whereof a few, shall easelie vanquish a multitude disordred, and confusely clusteringe together. The souldiour thus expert, and by practise thoroughlye manned, furnished and made perfecte mayster, and possessor of his Arte, shall boldelye, and courageouslye proceade into the fielde: For fewe men feare, or shrink to doe that, whearin they are skillfull, and well practized.

*One wayned
souldiour,
worth ten
vntayned.*

Now

Now for the more endeuour, and exercise to be vsed and had heerein, thorough out this lande, it is a thinge not after anye other to be looked vppon, and effectuallye considered vnto reformation, leasewe doynge nothinge, thinke to do muche, & beeing naked vnder a nette, suppose our selues armed, when wee are nothinge couered. (For, such is the dulnesse of some people.) I will recyte some Examples of the diligence vsed by the moſte excellent eſtates heerein. First in the foundation of the greateſt Monarchie of the worlde vnder Rome, what ordynaunces, and continuall excersyses of warre, Romulus eſtabliſhed theare, it is not doubtfull. For the Romaines allwayes after vsynge the ſame orders, whiche hee inſtituted, and deliuered vnto their handes, vppon the ſame foundation proceadyng in prowesſe, attayned to moſte highe honour of Armes, and erected their famous Empyre. Tullus Hoſtilius, and Ancus Martius kinges theare, beſtowed greate trauayle and induſtrye, in encreaſinge the ſayde Diſcipline of warre. In Lacedæmon a Citie of Grecia, which by excellent gouernement grewe to haue domination ouer dyuers Kingdomes, Lycurgus the politique Prince, amonge his Lawes and cuſtomes, whiche hee eſtabliſhed theare, ordayned that all ſpare tyme ſhoulde be expended in vertuous exerciſes, and principallye in the noble practiſes of Armes, to gett honour, and ſoueraignty

tye of the enemyes, cleane cuttinge of vnthriftye,
 wastfull ryott, abandoninge delycate nycenesse,
 and banyshinge idle, and chyldishe Games, as
 commen Cardeplaye, Cayles, Coytes, Slyde-
 bourde, Bowles, and Blowepoynt, which weare
 throwen oute of the commen wealthe. From
 whence also hee dyscarded and expelled, Iang-
 lers, Iesters, Iuglers, Puppctplayers, Pypers, and
 suche like vnprofitable persons, in steade of which
 weare mayntayned menne of valure, frequen-
 tyng, and exercisyng actiuitie of wrasteling,
 dartyng, throwinge the Barre, the sledge, vsinge
 the weapons of Warre, in skyrmyshes, and lyke
 actes to example the practises & exploitys of warre,
 as skalyng of Fortes, skilfull ridinge, runninge at
 the rynge, marchinge eftsoones in arraye of bat-
 taye &c. And publique places weare appoynted
 commodiouslye for the commen vsinge of the
 same, and mozte actyue menne to bee teachers
 heerein. The honourable exercyses called Olim-
 piades, celebrated in Grecia, with the concourse of
 people from all partes of the worlde, to trye va-
 lure, and wyne the Vytours Crowne, thys
 contentyon in all practises and qualyties of ver-
 tue and commendation, caused Grecia first aboue
 all other nations, to floryshe in honour of armes,
 learninge, and other laudable trades, wheare the
 righte and excellent Dyscipline, and order of
 VVarre was nourysed and maintened wythe
 great

Vegetius
sayth, that
Gentlemen
to whom the
profession of
armes is proo-
per, as their
arte ought
from their
cradel to
their graue,
to be practis-
ed therein.

great soueraintie & dominion. The famous spectacle of the exercises of Armes, in Campus Martius, in the latter time of the triumphant estate of Rome was of great industrie, & actiuitie, being alwayes nolesse honourablye, then duellie on the holidays frequented, and obserued of al sortes. And at this daye vnder diuers estates in Germanye, this diligence is vsed in trayning of souldiours, & preparation for warres, they deuide the inhabitants of euerye citie, or shire, into certaine partes, or bades, geuing vnto them the names of such weapons, as they will chose to bee charged with for their furniture, & seruice in the time of warres, as Archers, Pikemen, Demilaunces & such like, so that there is no able person, exempted out of these orders, either for exercise, or supplie, & contribution to the charges of one sorte of these weapons, which companies bee thus on their holydaies, and spare times duellie trayned and practised. The Turke also, what numbers hee causeth from verie yonge yeares, to bee brought vp, and skilfullye practised vnto the feates and seruice of warres, and what huge garrisons, and armies of Souldiours, he continuallye maintaineth, it is well knowen: and with all no Prince, Realme, or estate more free from Rebellion of subiectes, and forewarde in victories then he. So to conclude, God graunt, that the examples of others, maye stirre the slacke, and dull sorte, well to vse Armes before their harmes.

Plaut.
Feliciter is
sapit, qui
alieno per-
iculo sapit.

felde to haue a good swerde and dagger, and for
 the armed souldiour, the same woulde bee but
 shorte, with waightie pomells, stronge, & narrowe
 poynted. One other thinge I woulde saye, and con-
 clude, for the regarde of souldiours, when a po-
 wer is to be leuied, and men prest into the warres,
 if it stande vppon no greater necessitie, but that
 such choyse maye be made, it is to be respected,
 that men of occupation, husbandmen, and suche
 like, (which after the warres ended, maye retourne
 to their trades, or els haue somewhat of their owne
 to liue ciuillye with all) be first taken. Secondlie it
 is to be considered, that men hauinge great charge
 of children, or occupyinge, be the rather spared &
 exempted from the warres. For Iudas Machabeus
 the most redoubted Captaine of the hoast of Isra-
 ell, dismissed out of his armie, suche as newly ma-
 ried wyues, buylded houses, or planted vineardes,
 whereby their hartes beeynge left at home, they
 shoulde be the lesse valiaunt, and more lothe to
 hazarde their lyues. Good order must bee taken,
 that the comen wealthe be not pestered wyth
 idle and vnprofitable men, and the same once bee-
 inge purged, if none be after taken into the warres,
 but such as by their trades or other staye, are lyke
 to liue conuenientlie by their owne industrie or
 hauoyr, except so manie as maye be maintayned
 by the warres, preferred by pensions, or placed in
 garrisons afterwarde: souldiours shall not be dis-
 couraged to see manie of that sorte, the warres
 beinge

See also
 Deut. 20. &
 24.

beinge dissolued, needie, neglected, and fallen into miseries. For surelie the souldiour, that is a ciuill man with all, is an especiall member of his countrey, to be regarded more then hee which is lesse able to serue the same, for it is a blessinge of God, both for the vse, necessarie, & of valure, worthy estimation. And therefore principallie, the generall and Captaines ought after the warres ended, to retayne their tender affection towardes the souldiours, which haue serued them well, and to endeuour as they may, to preferre them. But generallie all good men ought to fauour and further honest souldiours, which hath a valiant desire to propulse the enemye, & to purchase honour and saftie, vnto their natie countryes.

(,.)

G.ij,

¶ Albe

¶ Of the disciplyne and admonitions of warre.



L bee it, that there can not bee rules appointed, or prescribed to direct al the do-
 inges & affaires of warre, as well for that
 there is no leasure, vppon sodaine mis-
 chiefes to searche out presidētes or ponder lessons
 & rules, as also because of the infinite occasions &
 chaūces, that happen beyonde expectatiō. It were
 therefore an infinite (I may saye as Hanniball did
 by the dotinge discourse of olde Formio) a madd
 peece of woorke, to prescribe a particuler order
 for euerie acte to be done in the warres, wherein
 the Captaine must followe the grounde and dy-
 rection of his wisdom and experience: But yet
 some certaine obseruatiōs there are for him most
 needefull: and presidentes of other excellēt cap-
 taines in great difficulties, maye bee good war-
 ninges & lessons in the like, to make a foundation
 and plott of politique inuention, & good iudge-
 ment, so that the Iron or stufte thereby maye bee
 supplied, but the hammer of the Captaines wise-
 dome, must worke and frame the same, vnto hys
 seuerall practises and occasiōs. Now therefore to
 goe into the matter, let vs see what aduātages, po-
 licie, by good experience and sure grounde of rea-
 son, hath taught vs to seeke in ioygninge battaile,
 and encounter with the enemye. First, if he come
 by sea, to aryue & take his landynge, Cassibellans
 example

Formio a
 philosopher.

example sheweth what is best to doe, who vnder-
standinge of Iulius Cæsars cōming out of Fraūce
to inuade this land of Britayne, he foorthwith ga-
thered his power together, and ioyning them with
the aide of Androgeus king of Kent, they procea-
ded to the Sea side, wheare valiauntlie resistinge
the arriual of the Romaines, they were repulscd,
and driuen backe to their shippes, well laden with
blowes. Which declareth that great aduauntage is
had to deale with the enemye, before he haue dis-
charged all his power out of the shippes, being dis-
ordered, and straighted in rome, and standing on
slipperie places, hauinge some impediment of the
water, before they can winne the firme shore. The
like facilitie is there to withstand the enemye, at
the mouthe or entringe of some streyghtes, or at
the passinge of highe stepe hilles. Leonidas wyth *Leonidas, and*
600. Lacedemoniens keapinge the toppe of the *the armye of*
hill where the huge hoaste of the Persiens were to *Xerxes.*
passe, and enter into Grecia, at the streyghtes of
Thermopila, slewe theare more then xx. thousād
of them. Cæsar before recited, beeing to conueye
his Armie ouer a riuer in Fraunce, the passage
wheareof was defended & kept on the other side
by Vergintorix, leader of the Frenchmen, he there-
fore knowinge how muche the enemye might a-
uoid him, before he could gett ouer, vsed this po-
licie to beguyle them: He caused a portion of hys
armie drawen out of diuers bandes, to be priuelye
lodged in a woode nighe, and theare to frame a lit-
tle

the bridge, on the sodayne to be cast ouer the ryuer. The, downe goeth he alonge by the shore, as though he sought passage in some other place. The Fréchmen seing him remoue, bearing the iust nūber of his ensignes, not doubting any double dealing, followeth wayghting vpō him alonge the other side. Cæsar, by that the bridge was made, spedelie retourning, passed ouer without lett or trouble. The like policye may bee well vsed, mee thinketh thus: to espy where sum part of the riuer is shallow or otherwise most conuenientlye to be passed, & the to carry away the enemy by colour of some attempt in another place, & after to retourne vnto the same by night, or secretelie to lodge some sufficiēt parte of the armye behinde to passe the same, & inuade the enemye on a sodayne at their backe, while the other parte of the armye proccadeth before, in the viewe, & gaze of the enemy. For the polityke Captayne oughte nothings lesse to pretende in shewe, then that whiche in purpose he intendeth. For so haue famous Cityes bene surprised on the sodayne vnprouided, while a counterfaite preparation hath bene made by the enemye, & a power lead an other waye, sometime againste a secrete friende, being in apparāce an enemy, till they haue both, ioygned to the mischiefe of a third partye, & so is it a practise at the syege of a Towne, to bende & encline al force & batterie in shewe to one side of the sãe, whē a secrete power is prepared to skale, & surprise it on sōc other parte, little regarded or defended

defended, Hanno a Captayne of Carthage, being
streightlie besyged within a trenche, he enclosed
himselfe most stronglye, as it seemed, on that parte
where he purposed to breake forth, which he af-
terwardes setting on fire, escaped thorough wyth
his armie, the enemies geuing no watche vnto that
place. Nabides, at the syege of Lacedæmon, set fire
on a parte of the Towne, where enemies weare en-
tered, & by the trouble thereof, with a fresh assaulte
made of the Townesmen, draue thē out agayne.
Hanniball, on a time driuen into a streyght by Fa-
bius the Romaine, so that hee was enforced by a
great enconueniēce to passe a hill, where the armie
of Fabius lay on the top thereof, he therefore cau-
sed linkes & brādes, to be fastened vnto the hornes
of a great nūber of oxen which weare in the campe,
& setting thē on fire by night, the cattail were driuē
with great noise & larum, vp to the enemies campe,
which hearinge the terrible noise of the beastes,
whē they felt the force of the fire, & also being ama-
zed with the sight, as though they stoode in doubt
to fight with the dyuell, that made such a whorlye
burlie: Hannibal the whilest, quietly cōuied ouer
his armie. Diuers Captaynes whē th y haue bene
hardlie pursued, or let in like passagē by the enemy,
they haue setled their armies, and begonne tren-
ches, as though they would haue rested theare,
or ioygned battaile shortlye, withe the enemye,
which markingē & obseruinge the same, hath en-
camped, & made the like preparation, whilest that
the

the other haue vsed oportunitie to passe suche ryuers, hilles, or gayne such groude, as they desired. Also the excellent Captaines haue accustomed, when they vnderstoode that the enemye had made strongest the front, or some other singuler part of his battaile, they haue sett against the flanke, or weakest side theareof. Some other, haue suffered them selues to be enclosed by the enemies armie, to the ende, that the same beeing brought out of order, they woulde breake thorough the weakest parte theareof, whiche hath happened to the great hurt of the enemye. Manye thinges theare are to be obserued, which geue great aduauntage in the ioyninge of battaile, as if thou canst trayne thy enemye into a streight or valley, & thy selfe to possesse the hilles, on bothe sides, as Hanniball caught the Romaine armie at Cannæ. And alwayes it is good policie to haue the higher ground of the enemy, and to haue the aduauntage of the winde, and the sunne, for the same being in the face of the enemye, thou maist sett furthe a part of thine armye to inuade his battaile on the one side, or at the backe, that their fight being troubled, they shall not perceaue wheare about thou goest, wheareby also if thou haue any ambushe in anye trenche, wood, or couert laide, as he shall marche, he is more apte to come into the same vndiscovered, & then, sodaine daungers when they be not knowen, or perfectlie sene, are the more feared. As the experience hereof was had by Epaminondas, a famous Captayne
of

of Grecia, which supplied this aduantage of the sonne, another waye, hee caused his light horsemen, in verie dustie wayes, to make an attempte vpon the enemye, and shortlie to withdrawe, and gallop backe before thē, the whilest Epaminondas came about vpon them, on the one syde, before they coulde discerne the order of his battaile, for the dust that was rayfed, & so easelie vanquished them. The like practise maye be by a pyle of wood, or olde hedges in the waye of the enemyes sette on fire, to rayle a smoke, for an impedymēt of their sighte, till some enterprise bee atchycued. Where the one parte is excedding stronge, by store of horsemen or of shott, it is vndoubtedlie for the aduantage and sauftie of the other, to keepe in rough groundes, or neare some bankes, hilles, or woodes, & also to keepe their armie close that the horse men or shot be verie nigh vpon them, before they bringe foorth their battaill. So shall not the shott haue leasure or leuell to discharge, likelie to hurte, and horses in suche groundes disordered, and leapinge one vpon an others backe for lacke of roome, shall loose their force to take the starte vpon the enemye. Great policie also it is, if thou canst come with thy armie freshe vpon the enemye, wearied with muche trauaile, or beinge in anie mutine amonge thē selues, weakened or discouraged by want of victualles, or anie other perplexitie or distresse by ill tydings out of their countrey, or some losse else where sustayned, before the same

bee salued or supplied by anie later victorie, or other good happe fallen vnto them, and it hath been vsed, cūninglie to coygne, and cast abroad, imagined rumours of mischiefes towards, to appall and dismaye the enemye. Manie singuler and famous exploytes and victories haue been had & done, when the enemye hath been surprysed on the sodaine in disorder, or by nighte, for want of good espyall, when hee hath not doubted anie daunger, and therefore it is good to bee circumspect and readie, to stande still vpon garde and defence, and little to truste the enemye duringe the warres. Titus Didius, beinge weaker then his enemye which was remouinge to encounter a legion, comminge into his ayde, to staye that purpose, hee publyshed thorough out all his armie that he intended the next daye to fighte the fiede, and suffered certaine prysoners colourable to escape, which freshlie toulde forth those newes when they retourned into their campe, whereby the enemye stayed, and the other saue receaued the succour sent vnto him.

To breake, or disorder the battaile of the enemye. Cap. 2.

Other policyes there are to be remembred, and practised, when a battayle is orderlie sette, to breake or trouble the same, and this is one, to geue out with great noyse duringe the fight, that the generall

nerall on the other syde, is slayne, or that parte of
 hys battaile duringe the fighte, flyeth, or to make
 some sodaine shewe to be a terrour vnto them. As
 Caius Sulpitius, caused a manie of Pages vnder
 Romaine ensignes, with bad cast horses, cartes, &
 trumperie, to make a great muster & shew sodaine-
 ly vpon a hyll within sight, whyle he was a figh-
 tinge with the Frenchmen, whiche thereby being
 diucomfited, he obtayned the victorie. But it is of
 greater effecte, if in deede there be a troupe close-
 conueyed, or an ambushe layed, on the sodaine, to
 inuade the enemyes fightyng, at their backe,
 whiche maye most conuenientlie be done, where
 there be hilles or couert nyghe. Hanniball in a
 battaile against kynge Eumenes, threwe earthen
 pottes full of snakes and vipers amonge his ene-
 mies, wherewith they were presentlie frightened and
 disordered. The Spaniardes, against the armie of *Plutarch in*
 the Carthaginoys led by Amilcar, put in their *vita Hanni-*
 fronte, Cartes full of Towe, drawen with Oxen, *balis.*
 and ioygninge to fighte, they kyndeled fire in the
 same, by force whercof, the Oxen thrust furth in-
 to the battaile of the enemyes, and opened it. The *Carts hooked*
 lyke hath been done with Cartes full of hookes, *Horsemen.*
 by great power enforced and dryuen vppon the
 fronte of the enemies. For the auoydinge where-
 of Sylla the Romaine, planted Pyles & stakes be- *Stakes.*
 fore his battaile, whereby the Cartes were stop-
 ped and dyd not hurte. The lyke daunger maye
 bee auoyded by geeuyng waye vnto suche
 H.ij. engines

Cap. 2.

The seconde booke.

*Tu ne cede
malis, sed cō-
tra, auden-
tior esto.
Virg.*

engyns, thorough spaces prepared in the fronte or first rankes, till they may bee turned a syde, by which practise also, great power and fierce assaulte of horsemen hath beecome vayne. Nowe to remedie sodaine mischiefes, whiche maye fall, and to staye the armie from fearefull flight before there be cause; there bee two firme and necessarie rules constantlie to bee kepte, the one is, that no man for anie sodaine chaunce, terrour or shewe by any practise or assault of the enemye made by daye or by night, take anie other waye or purpose, but to fight couragiously, till there be certaine signe geuen by the generall to retyre, or otherwise to deale. The other rule is, that the Captayne circumvented or deceaued by the enemye, seeme to doe the same willingly, whiche hee is enforced vnto. Tullus Hostilius, in battayle seinge howe a bande of his hyred souldiours was tourned vnto the enemye, whereby hys menne were muche troubled and affrayed, hee forthwith gaue vnderstandinge throughe oute the armie, that there was nothinge done, but by his commaundemēt, and for a good purpose, Scipio goinge to inuade Affryke, hadde before made league and frendship with Syphax kinge of Numidia, whiche afterwarde reuoltinge, sent him worde that he woulde be a frende vnto the other parte, but Scipio concealed this message from his souldiours, and sayde that hee sent vnto him to make haste on the iourneye. Moreouer, yf parte of the armye flye, before

before the whole battayle be moued and broken, the wise and valiaunt Captaine may by vehemēt perswasions & meanes, bringe thē backe, & especially the hardynes & noble courage of the general, may auayle heerein. As Lucius Silla, in a battayle againste Mithridates, certayne of hys legions, or bandes beinge put to flyght, he gott before thē with his swearde drawē, crying, if any aske you of your Captaines, saye, we lefte him in the felde fighting. Phillip king of Macedon, vnderstanding that his men feared the Scythiās, placed behinde his armie, certaine of his most trustie horsemen, & gaue commaundement to keape in, and turne vpon the enemyes, such as shoulde flye, that they might bee slayne both of them, and of their friendes, wheareby his souldiours determininge rather to dye honourablye to the benefite of their Countrey, thē with shame, to the hurt thereof they became Conquerours. Some Captaines to geue occasion to the souldiours to vse greater endeuour, and to put out their force thoroughlye, haue throwen an ensigne amongst the enemyes, and appointed rewarde to him which could recouer it againe. And whē they enemye lodgeth within streyghtes, trenches, or places enuirōned with hilles, meanes may bee founde to prouoke him to battaile, by cuttinge of, his foragers, and prouision of victualles, or to faine that thou remouest to some other enterprise, withdrawinge till hee be dislodged. But Paulus Æmilius in Macedonia to encounter, and deale

Cap. 2.

The seconde booke.

*Martius a-
gainst the
Dutchmen,
& Flamini^{us}
against Phil-
lip kinge of
Macedon,
conueyed a
troupe vp a
hill, to come
downe vpon
the enemy at
their backs,
while they
were in fight
belowe.*

deale with the Armye of Perſes, reſtinge at the
foote of the hill Olympus, in a place maruailouſ-
lye by nature enuironned, & by arte fortified, hee
conueyed his armye ſecretelye by night, vp the
ſtepe, & vnhaunted wayes of the hill, not ſuſpected
or watched of the enemye, ſo that he came downe
the more ſodainlie vppon them, to their greater
ſpoile & loſſe. Cato Maior by the verie ſame means,
came vpon Antiochus, beinge ſtronglye guarded
& defended, in the ſtreightes of Thermopylæ in
Græcia, at which enterpriſe, the kinge Antiochus,
being greatly hurte with a ſtone, his armie fledde.
Scipio the excellent Captaine, goinge to ſubdue
Afrique, procured in ſo great warres, the aide of K.
Maſiniſſa, whom ſhortlie after his arryual there, he
ſet to prouoke Hanno generall on the other ſide,
for the Carthaginois to fight, who ſeing the ſmall
number with Maſiniſſa led, proceeded againſt him
with all his power on a heape, and the other after
a feawe blowes, fayninge to flye, brought the ene-
my forth vnto Fooles baye, vpon the hoſt of Sci-
pio, which he had arrayed and ſett in excellent or-
der of battaile, readye to receaue the enemye: So
was Hanno there ſlayne, and his diſordered Ar-
mie put to flyghte. Then Scipio purpoſinge the
ſyege of the Citye Vtica, and hearinge of the com-
minge of Haſdruball and Syphax, with a myghtye
power agaynſt him, hee planted his Armye vpon
an hyll, wheare he might ſaue and defende his na-
uye, and alſo with ſum aduauntage fight wyth
the

the enemye. And when he had vnderstandynge, that the enemyes had settled bothe their camps nyghe, and that their tentes weare made wythe woode and bullrushes warme, for the wynter time, he sent Masinissa, and, C. Lælius, to sett fire on thē by night, and with all to assaile Syphax, whyche done, the fire also taketh Hasdruballes campe, & the Carthaginoyes runninge foorth in heapes vnto the broyle, they fell all into the Romaines hādes. So that there weare then slaine almost .xl. thousande of them. Thus mightie powers be by policie, smotherlie vanquished, and great estates lyghtlie ouerthrowen, & wyse men seing the rocke, wheare-on other men wracke, are warned and waxe ware, taking by their losse, a lesson to guyde their owne affayres.

¶ *Aduertysementes how the armye that is weaker then the enemyes, may growe stronger, or saue it selfe. Cap. 3.*

IT is a policie in this case, to drawe vnto thee, sum of the enemyes friendes or ayde, by promise of great thinges, hope of large dominyon, & benefites, to follow, or by practise to sowe discétion, or mislike, betwene thē, as when Siphax king of Numidia, had ioygned league with the Romaines, to ayde thē in the warres of Afrique, the Carthaginois sent Ambassadours vnto him, declaringe the ambition of the Romaines, howe by litle & litle, they fought cūinglie to subdue al other Princes, & being once entred into Afrique, that they would not cease,

cease, till they had obtayned it all, wheareof his Countreye was parte; and by other such enduementes, withdrewe him from the Romaines, with all his power to assiste them. The like deuise had Hannibal after, to wyne Antiochus kinge of Macedonia, and Prusias kinge of Bithynia, to the aide of the Carthaginoys. Also it profiteth no lesse, to geue occasion vnto the enemye, to distrust, or displace their best friendes or Captaines. The Atheniens weare alwayes victours, till they banished their excellent Captaine Alcibiades, and shortlye after weare subdued by the Lacedæmoniens. And if the Romaines had not banished Coriolan: The Volsciens before subdued, had not afterwarde put Rome in daunger of ruyne, & vtter ouerthrowe. Alcibiades vsed the like practise to make a iarre betweene Duke Tissaphernes, and his mayster the kinge of Persia. Hanniball wasted and spoyled wheare euer he went in Italye, sauinge onelye the possessions of Fabius vntouched, which he dyd, to cause the Romaines to houlde their best Captaine suspected. Some haue vsed to the same ende, to make manye priuate conferēces with the Generall of the enemyes, sending sundry letters secretelye, & sometime presentes, working also that some suspicious letter, of an imagined conference or practise betwene thē, may come to the Princes hādes, vnder whom such Generall is deputed. By these meanes, haue excellēt Captaynes bene displaced, warres stayed, and the weaker parte in the meane
time

tyme hath gathered strength. Other wayes there are to detracte battaile, and to saue an armie, at neede, frō the greater power of the enemye, which is to encampe stronglie within some trenche or lyke place, or else to bee backed with some fenne, maryshe, steepe hyll, or ryuer, so that the enemye haue but one waye vnto them; and that beinge the streyghter, is the more aduauntage for the fewer number. Fabius vsed this waye with Hanniball, seekinge and endeuouringe daylie for thauoydinge of dyuers enconueniences, to fighte wyth him; but Fabius encamped alwayes so cunninglie, and with suche aduauntages for the felde, that the other without great daunger coulde not deale with him. Marius thus encamped at the mouthe of the ryuer Rhodanus, the infinite multitude of the Duchemen, durst not inuade him, till hee brought forth his armie into the fieldes. But two other wayes there are, more certaine to bee saue from the enemye. The one is to puruey thy campe distant at the leaste a dayes iourneye from hym, remoouinge alwayes in the open countrey, that thou bee not stayed by hilles or ryuers &c to passe vnto the sea syde, or suche place where thou desirest to rest thyne armie. The other helpe is, if thou bee wylling to assaye the force of the enemye without anye great losse, and to abyde him in the felde, then it is best for thee to keepe thy selfe neare vnto some strong towne of thine owne, or thy frendes, where thou mayst withdrawe thine armie from.

I. j.

pursute

pursute of the enemye, if he prooue the stronger in battaile. So did Eumenes saue his retyre into the Cytie Nora, from the armie of Antigonus. It is good to prouyde for the worst, as it is commonlie saide, for the best will saue it selfe.

¶ Howe to conducte an armie, & proceede with the same in a foreyne countrey, & of the necessaries thereunto. Cap. 4.

IT is first to be considered, that armed men, victualls, and moneye, be the accidentes inseparable, or rather the substaunce and strengthe of warres. There must bee prouyded also for an armie, store of Iron, and stasse tymber, to make weapons of all sortes, with sundrie artificers, for diuers purposes, powder must bee had with plenty, carriages, and cattail good store to followe the campe, for necessaryes, with vtenstyles and suche like. And if an armie be led into a foreyne countrey, there must be the greater store of this prouision, and forage also to bee had, and yet maye not the campe bee pestered with caryages, for then it can not so lightlie remoue, as occasions maye require. Also when souldiours haue much carriage beinge greatlie enritched with spoyle, their mindes are sometime more vppon their baggage, then vpon battail. And if they sende often of the same into their countrey, their hartes be also at home. Great Alexander therefore seeinge his armie one time, so laden with booties and pryfes, he burned
all the

all the surplufage of the carriages whiche myght encumber them, beinge of a great substance. But a more politike and profitable waye it weare, to prouyde to haue some one stronge towne or twayne, where the warres are, to conuey the same into, which shalbee moreouer a maker of great benefite & vse, daylie vnto the armie, and to the state of the warres dyuers wayes, as for reliefe of suche as bee hurte from time to time, also to receaue suche ayde of men, victualles, or other necessaries, as shal be sent from home, to keepe the same till it maye be saufelie conueyed into the armie, and not surprysed of the enemye by the waye. Also it is a necessarie place, to sojourne in wynter time, (for the wynter warres be more noysome & tedious then profitable) or to withdrawe into, when the armie or store of thinges is spent, or worne with warres there, it is a good restinge place till supplie be had of their wantes. And if the same be neare vnto the Sea syde, and towardes home, It is farre the more commodious. Nowe the waye to obtayne and wyne suche a towne or harbour the more easilie, is in the begynninge to make thynne aryuall sodayne, and in a place vnlooked for, that the enemye maye bee surprysed vnfurnished. And it is not best to spende muche of thy store of menne or pouysion, in the wyninge of manye Townes at the fyrste. For fyue batayles haue beene fougheten wyth losse of fewer menne, then some one Cytye is wonne

l.ij.

withall,

withall, and therefore, will not the wise Captayne so weaken him selfe, before the great necessitie & mayne force of battayle. For it is to be considered withall, that manie townes taken, requyre manie garrisons to bee assigned, for the defence and keepinge of the same, all whiche dismember an armie and put it downe, as muche as anie practise of the enemye against the same maye do. For the armie is the assurāce of warres, without which thou canst little annoy or terrifie the enemye, nor yet longe maintaine or defende thy walled townes from hym, for if hee possesse the countrey with his men, hee shall cutt off ryllage, and stoppe all trades vnto the townes, by whiche they onely maye liue and be maintained. And therefore that Prince that possesseth stronge townes, and dareth not, or hath not power to keepe the fielde, and defende his countrey by battaile, if he be cunninglie dealt with, will vndoubtedlie proue a pesant. And therefore the knowledge to guyde an armie into the fielde, and to order & make battaile with skill and aduauntage, is misteresse of all dominion and victorie, for thereunto all warres maye bee brought in the ende. And in passinge forth with his armie, let the generall auoide streightes, obserue good orders, and choose his grounde and wayes commodious as he goeth. Nowe let vs see, whether policie counsayleth, as soone as thou arte entered into the enemies countrey, and that he will offer battaile to receaue the same, and shortlie to trye

trye the matter? Herein I am not of opinion, that it is generally best to detracte battail, except there be some aduantage to be taken and vsed in ioygning of the same, for so the one may goe about the other longe enoughe to little purpose. But other circumstances and accidentes are to be considered in this generaltie. For commonlye it is for the behoufe of him, whose Countrey is inuaded, to seke battaile for auoydinge spoyle of the same: But yet it is to be considered, that if the other be like shortely to be wearied, or be neare some mischiefe by mutine, or for some wantes forced to forsake the coūtre, & that it shoulde be daungerous to deale wyth him for his force, then policye perswadeth to protracte battaile on that parte. And generallye the inuader, as longe as he proceadeth with spoyle, to plage the enemy, & to enrichte himselte, hath not necessity to hasten battaile, but maye take the time best for his aduauntage. How be it, occasions may growe on, otherwise, and be vrgent vnto him to ioygne battaile spedelye, as by encrease of ayde comminge towardes the enemye, or casuall empayring of his owne present power. Moreouer, vnto him which hath manye hyered souldiers, it is more requisite to make hast vnto battaile, and to end the warres, as well for the great charge of that retinue, as for the daylie daunger of their vnſure seruice, and doubt of reuoltinge vnto the enemye, being money men, by corruption, or for a greater paye, they lightlie leaue their mayster in his greatest neade.

For

For seldome haue there bene greate conquestes made by force of hyred menne. The Romaines, and the Grekes, warred with their owne Souldiours against all nations. Great Pompeye, with the natie people of Italie, ouercame Mithridates with hys huge Armye, of more then twentye Nations. Of later tymes, the estates of Italye haue bene vsurped and ouerrunne, by vsinge the helpe of hyred Souldiours. And the Venetiās, (hauing otherwise moste excellent gouernement, and plentyfull prouisyon of all thinges, both for peace & warre) but for thys cause onelye, had growen to haue greate Empyre. This Realme of Britayne, hath sum experience of these hurtes, beinge sumtime oppressed by the hyred Saxons, vnder Hengistus. But now to trie the truste, and faithe of hired Souldiours before their infidelitie, or defection maye greatlye hurte: It is good before thy greate neade, and daye of battaile, to sende them forth wythe a feawe of thyn owne approued men, to sum exploite, supposed to bee of greate importaunce, and to plante priuelye by the waye, or to sende after them a sufficient number of trustye Souldiours, to doe the same feate, if the other shoulde bee false, or faile in the same. Also it is policie for the same purpose, to conferre with the Captaynes of them that are suspected of suche matters as thou entendest not to doe but in shewe, to see if they wyll keape the same secrete, or geue priuie aduertysement thereof vnto the Enemye.

The

The like prooffe is made by delyuering to the leader of the, letters sealed, pretending great wayght, and purportingelittle, to bee sent forth to sum friende, to see whether the same should be opened or not saufelye conueyed in tyme.

¶ Whether it be more profitable, to seeke the great Towne, or the lesse, and how best to wyne the same. Cap. 5.

NOW is it further to be knownen, for takinge of holdes within the enemies dominiō, that the larger be rather to be sought for, the the lesse. And therefore the Citie which is of greatest trade to enriche the enemye, or such large towne as is so scituate, that it may most annoyne him, if thou be able to furnishe the same with garrisons, is most auaylable for diuers causes. Alcibiades, the excellēt Captaine, entrynge Sicilia to make warres there, first tooke the greate Citie Rhegium, & nexte besyged Catina, not farre from Syracuse, the chiefe Citie of the Realme. Scipio began hys warres in Spayne, with the syege of newe Carthage, the principall citiethere both of trade & power: And in like sorte inuadyng Afrique, he forthwith layde syege vnto Vtica, a famous citie, stāding on the sea side, wheare he also harboured and kept his shippes, so that he might cut of all ayde & succoure, both by lande & sea frō the towne. Now for the maner of subduing holdes, it is to be agreed, that the best waye of wyning, is that, whych is with mooste speade, & leaste losse,

losse. And therefore, if a Towne maye not be surprised and taken by sum trayne or policie, it is lesse daunger to inuade and force the enemye, by famine, then with the swearde. How Zopyrus suttellie caughte the Babiloniens (fayninge him selfe fledde from his Prince, for crueltie shewed vnto him, and being of them vnder fayned friendship receaued, betrayed their Citie,) the maner thereof is declared at large, in the first booke. This shift also hath bene vsed, when a Captayne had vnderstandynge of ayde looked for by the besyeged, he hath apparelled a troupe of his owne souldyours, vnder the ensigne of those whiche shoulde come vnto them, and so to haue taken the Towne. Cimon of Athens, besieginge a Towne, by night sett fire on a temple in the suburbes of the same whearefore sum of the Townes men rashelie runninge out to succour it, the enemye entered in vpon the. Also the besieged are more easelie enduced to yelde, by signifyng vnto them, sum great victorie latelye hadde against their Prince, or other streightes that he is brought into. Sum haue practised to haue friendes within a towne, to perswade them, to issue out vpon the enemye, or to doe sum other acte vnto their owne ouerthrowe. And such persons haue geuen intelligence by letters fastened to arrowes, and shote forth vnto the enemies, of the state and dealinges within the Towne, as of the weakest parte thereof or least defended, of the custome of the watche, when and howe they
maye

maye be deceaued, that the enemye maye enter vpon them vnware. The Frenchmen corrupted Tarpeia a mayden, to lett them in, by a little posterne doore into the Capitall of Roome. But in this case, diligent examination must be made by captaines, for double dealinge, that they be not abused in their practises, the same beinge disclosed vnto the enemye: which hath sometime suffered parte of the aduersaries power, to enter within his houlde to their destructiō, hauinge prepared, sodainlie to repulse and shutt out the rest. For the takinge of a stronge towne by famine, it is a good waye to winne sum weaker nighe, & to tourne out the inhabitauntes thereof, that they may be receaued into the other, & so their victualls, the soner consumed. Fabius suffered the of a towne, whom he woulde besiege, to sowe their fieldes, to the entēt that they shoulde haue the lesse corne in store. Sometime, townes besieged haue desired a parle or truce for a time, to the ende that the siege not beinge straightlie kept, they might in the meane time receaue in, ayde of men or victualls. And therefore the siege ought not to be slacke by suche pretence, but good watche to be alwaies abrode. For it hath chaūced that an army lying at the siege of a towne, hath ben on the sodaine inuaded of enemies at the backe, & withall they of the towne haue issued forth vpon them, to their ouerthrowe. It must be alwaies holden of the good captaine as a principall grounde, that hee haue diligent espyall of the enemies doynges, &

K.j.

keepe

keepe his owne secrete. And therefore hee consulteth, and conferreth with manie, what is best to be done: but that which he determineth to doe, hee reuealeth to fewe or none. Hee must also haue regarde, that his custome or certaine order vsed in some doinges, disclose not anie of his purposes vn to the enemye, and therefore the same must bee often varied and chaunged. It is good also to encampe in suche place as the enemye see not what is done within the campe. For if he perceauē that thou receaue in, anie ayde or encrease of power, or sende foorth anie troupe to anie attempte or ex-ploycte, he armeth him selfe and prouideth accordingly. For as sodaine daūgers be more dreadful: so a man warned before, is saide to be armed.

¶ How the excellent Captaynes haue encouraged their souldiers vnto battail, & made the hardie & valiant in fight. Ca. 6.

IT is to be carefullie considered of the captaine, that his souldiers be not afrayde when he goeth to battail, but that they maye valiauntlie desire to encounter the enemye. And therefore such meanes, as maye remooue from them doubte or distrust, and put into them courage and hope, are expedient for him to finde. As for the purpose, some people doe stumble muche at sygnes or tokens which fall before battail, cōiecturinge there by the determination of God, and euentē or successe of the battaile. wherefore the wyle captayne will chearefullye expounde all suche chaunces for hys aduantage, as if an auncient happen to fall,
vpon

vppon the Captaines head, before the battaill, he sayeth, the same is a happie sygne of the victorie fallinge vnto him. For they which haue the substance of vertue, are not to bee feared by the shadowe of coniectures. It is written of Scipio, that at his landing in Affryque, his feete slipped, so that he fell downe to the grounde, where at, when hee sawe diuers of his armie dismayed, he laughed sayinge, all is our owne, I haue here taken possession of the lande. Other haue vsyd by some fayned dreame or olde prophecy, to put their souldiours in firme hope & expectation of victorie. Marius, when he was to deale with the Dutchmen, an enemy not accustomed vnto the Romaines, beyng tall bigge men of person, they were not in cleane & quiet conscience with the matter, but somewhat afrayde, whiche Marius perceauinge, sayde, those longe bodies shewe a sure signe, that they be slowe, & lasye lowtes, & so stayed the battaill some dayes, whylest that the Romaines by custome of often syght, & some skirmishes had with them, were established in stomacke, & desired to fight with the. It is written of a captaine, when his armie was in the fiede ready to ioygne battail, some of the foremost ranke beinge afrayde seeinge the braue marching of the enemies, he extēded & helde his cloke before their faces, sayinge, nowe you see nothing to feare, you are saufe, by that meanes reproving the, not to dreade beefore there was cause. Alexander the great, whē he was in the fiede with his plaine
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Cap. 6.

The seconde booke.

souldiours in his first warres, manie of them beeing poore fellowes, hauinge wooden shyeldes, and olde weapons vsed before in his father Phillip his warres, whiche seeinge the huge hoste of Darius his enemye, with the brauerie of the people, their armure and all thinges glisteringe, and gorgeous, the noyse of a multitude of charyottes and horses also beinge terrible vnto them, he saide to his men, our enemies are come to make a shewe or maske, & therefore we must make them daunce & runne also. See you those golden armures, gaye weapons, and goodlie geare, it is better to haue wooden shyeldes then wooden men to beare them, the spoyle of this glorious hoste will make you riche & gallant fellowes, for all that you see is yours, if you playe the men, and what soeuer kinge Darius hath besides. Also thinke you, that this dayes battaile, maye geue vs the dominion & seigniourie ouer all the worlde. For who can withstand vs, if we conquere the great kinge Darius, the fame of whiche victorie will moste swyftlie flye into Græcia, and to the moste hyghe honour of your countrey all Prynces & nations shall knowe the manhoode and prowesse of the Macædoniens, and where soeuer you goe, the fame thereof shall followe you. Nowe syth that hyther wee are come forth to wyne honoure, lett not our longe trauayles bee frustrate or fruitelesse, and wee to runne home deluded, and laden wyth shame. Our countrey shall then wyth dyldayne behoulde

*It is written
that Hanni-
ball shoulde
use the same
speache to
kinge Antio-
chus, leas-
dinge his gal-
lant armye
against the
Romaines.*

behoulde you, remembringe howe your aunces-
tours vnder my father, by force euen on their
shoulders, lifted vp the dominion thereof ouer di-
uers natiōs, & your selues hunted & chased home,
shalbe ashamed to see your frindes. And thearefore
if we bee here repulsed, wheare shall wee without
reproche bee receaued. So that to rest vpon, wee
haue but two wayes, wheareof we must determine
to take one; that is either to wyne the victorie, or
to dye heare with honour. By these perswasions,
(wheare as Darius thought by his great pōmpe,
& trayne of men to haue daunted & disinayed the
emie;) Alexander turned the same to be a great
encouragement vnto his armye. Furthermore, if
the souldiour be afrayde, by store of terrible ordi-
naunce, straunge engins, or daungerous deuyses
of theemie, the same must be by like inuention,
& industrie preuented or encountred, as by setting
sum ambush priuely to surprise the same, or by set-
tinge on sum bande of horsemen, to interrupte the
plantinge theareof, or to make sum like exployte
as noysome vnto theemie, that the battaile may
come on before the same can take effecte to doe a-
nye great hurt. Thus, must the politique captaine
make readie, an Oliuer for a roulāde, to remoue all
stumblinge blockes and impedimentes, from the
good courage of the Souldiour, so that without
stickinge, most valiauntlie he maye marche to af-
saile theemie. Iulius Cæsar excelled other, for
trayninge, and makinge valiaunt & noble minded
souldi-

souldiours by notable examples, politike instructions, and practises which he vsed to enduce the thereunto, and to aduaunce their courages to attempte and archyue moste highe and honorable thinges. And with all he shewed such courtesie and good affection towards the, that neuer any man had souldiours of greater endeouour and valure, or more faithfull towards their Captayne. As it appeared a little before the great and finall battayle, betwene him and Pompeye, when his armie was in such necessitye of victualles, that they hadde no foode, but onelie of mylke and rootes, as they coulde mingle the same. Yet made they daylye skirmishes withe the contrarie parte, and estoones preuayled thearein. An other tyme a shippe of Cæsars souldiours, beeing taken by a gouernour vnder Pompeye, which promised vnto one of them for the good reporte whiche hee had of his manhode, that he should haue pardone, and be receaued to serue Pompeye: he answered that Cæsars Souldiours vsed to geue life and libertie vnto other, and not to receaue the same of almes, or to sell their Captayne for crauenous feare. And so resisting to be apprehended, after that hee had slayne diuers of his enemyes, hee leaped into a riuer, and escaped by swimming. The souldiours of Cæsar also sustayning so constantlie, the greate and continuall battailles in Fraunce and Germanye, withe terrible trauayles ouer mountaynes, and harde passage of ryuers and fildes, in the

in the Percyng coulde, and sharpe stormes of winter, shewed their inuincible courage, & good will to follow their Captayne.

*¶ How to vse victorie, and what clemencye is to be vsed
towards the conquered, and of the hurte which
commeth by securitye. Cap. 7.*

After a victorie obtayned, how to pursue the same, & to deale with the enemye, two thinges are to be considered, one is, the enemye being subdued, and all settled and confirmed in quyet, that tyrannie bee not shewed, but reasonable lawes, orders, and conditions established vnto the conquered: The other is, that there bee no slacknes or negligence vsed, vntill the victorie bee perfecte, and accompyshed in euerye parte, dangers fledde farre awaye, the force of the Enemye broken downe and suppressed. For by securitye, these myschiefes haue growen, that after manye battayles withe greate honour, and prowesse foughten, infynite trauayles sustayned, and sundrye Realmes subdued, one dayes careles securitye and vndiscrete dyforder, hath subuerted all, turnynge the state of Conquerours into captiuitie. As the Carthaginoys, hauynge slayne the two Scipioes in Spayne, and wythe greate ruyne repulsed and pulled downe the Romaneyne power, not regarding those that remayned there of dispersed, they weare by the relycques of
the

the same armie (gathered together vnder Lucius Martius) ouerthrowen. Brennus & Belinus before mencioned, beeinge enryched by the plentifull spoiles of Italie, and lacke of Rome, as they retourned in securitie and disorder, weare on the sodaine inuaded by Camillus, withe a feawe of the people before conquered, and the victorie being wrested againe out of their handes, they weare cleane bereft the fruites of their former conquest. The redoubted Cyrus, beinge the verye example of great Alexanders noble courage, when he had by martiall prowesse obtayned the mightie estate of Persia, and subdued diuers kingdomes, afterwardes inuadinge Scythia, wheare he had a great victorye against that fierce nation, by this policie. fayning when he was entred within the Countrey, that he repented of his attempte, and makeinge a shewe of hastie fliynge, lefte his tentes stored withe good wyne, and delicate cheare, which the barbarous people pursuing after, so plyed and typled square, that tomlinge together at night surcharged with wyne, and hraue of sleape, Cyrus not farre withdrawen, came vpon them, and flewe them euerye mothers sonne. After which victorie, Thomyris Queene of the lande, not discomforted womanlike, (as Cyrus thought, reckoning to rashely with a shrewde hostis) but purposing & preparing a reuenge, by like cratte to acquite him, & ouer reache him in his owne arte, she fled farre within the countrey, fayninge feare, but meaninge mischief, to
trayne

trayne the enemy followinge in disorder, & roo-
minge at randon into streigtes, where she had pri-
uelye plâted ambushes on the hilles on euery side,
which sodainlye inuadinge Cyrus and his hoste,
flew them all, so that of two hundred thousande
men, there escaped not one, to make reporte of the
battaill. Marcus Antonius, after manie most fa-
mous victories restinge in Egypt out of tyme, re-
garded not the daungers at Roome, whiche see-
med so farre of remooued from him, but soone
they came on him, whyle he snorted in carelesse se-
curitie to his vtter ouerthrowe. He that will goe
drye, must carrye a cloke for feare of the cloude,
which sheweth from a farre. I will not waste tyme,
to declare the further mischiefes & destructyons
chaunced thorough rash and ouerhastie recko-
ninge of vnrype victorie, and vn sure saufetie.
These maye suffyce to warne him, which maye as-
sure him selfe by good order, in armes and battaill
to be saufe, & of power inuincible, that by rashnes,
for lacke of guyde and circumspect foresyght, hee
tumble not vpon the enemies swerde. After one
victorie had, toorth with the enemy must bee or-
derlie pursued, and not suffered by rest to renue his
faintinge force, but when he staggereth, stryke on
still till he be downe, and his power fast shutt vp.
Then the warres beinge thoroughlie ended, & the
captiue liuinge vnder the lawe, & rule of the con-
querour, his honour is muche encreased by she-
winge of clemencie, & shunninge of hatefull cru-

Cap. 8.

The seconde booke.

See Dent. 20.

eltye. For, that humanitie requireth, & this, christianitye cōmaundeth to doe. Sum haue vsed their conquestes ouer suche as haue yelded vnto their dominion, that sauinge onelie the chaūge of their prince or gouernour, they haue suffered no alteration of lawes, libertie, estate or degree. The Romaines vsed to appoint deputies & gouernours, with competent garrisons, vnto the landes conquered, taxinge them with a meane tribute, and takinge hostages for the same: so they returned, & left thē quiet. The noble courtesie, which great Alexander vsed towardes the captyue wyfe and daughters of Darius, enlarged & spred abroad his honour, to the furtherāce of his conquestes following. What a preparatiue was made vnto Scipio his good successe, what a fōudation towardes the proceadinge of his warrelike affaires, by his honourable vsinge of prince Luceius his wife, & liberalitie vsed towardes Masinissæes nephewe, the great and continuall seruice of those princes afterwarde in his warres, as before is recyted, suffycientlie sheweth. And whatsoeuer lawes, fraunchyse or grauntes, the generalls of armies haue established & made vnto the conquered, the princes and estates, vnder whom they were deputed & ordayned, haue alwaies ratified & inuiolablye obserued and allowed the same compositions.

¶ Of the beginninge, & iust cause of warres. Cap. 8.

FOR that the iust quarell encouragethe, and commenlye bryngethe prosperous successe: it
is to

is to bee consydered, what maye bee a good
grounde and cause to vse weapons, and begynne
warres, by the lawe of nature, Iustice, and pryn-
cipallie by the lawe of God: whiche ought to bee
the foundation and rule of all our doynges, of
whom wee ought to take all our begynnings, by
whom affayres prosperouslye proceade, and hap-
pelye ende, without whom nothinge encrease the
or groweth to anie good effecte. That warres may
bee iustlye made, and howe diuers good menne
haue attempted and vsed the same, we reade in the
holye booke: Almightye God hath stirred vp dy-
uers as well Prynces, as priuate menne, or com-
men persons to take armes, and vse force agaynst
the wicked. The children of Israell vnder Iosua, by *Iosua.*
the cōmaundement & leadinge of God, conque-
red the Cananites, expelled the miscreaunt and
idolotrous nations, and possessed their landes.
Saul, & Sampson were raysted by him, to plague *King Saul.*
the Philistynes with battaile. The Assyriens, were *Sampson.*
brought by hym into Iudea, for the captiuitie
of the people, when they ranne at ryot, and left to
serue the true God, whyche moste meruaylous-
lye had shewen hys power, and moste tenderlye *Iudas Mach.*
his loue vnto them. Iudas Machabeus also, and
Gedeon, were leaders of the Israelytes against the *Gedeon.*
enemies of God by his ordinaunces, by which al-
so, Iehu, was mooued to make warres for the des- *Iehu.*
truction of the house of Ahab. And who sēt Titus
from Rome, to enuiron Hierusalem, with the most
L.ij. dreadfull

Cap. 8.

The seconde booke.

Titus sonne
of the mper
our Vespas-
tian.

dreadfull and fatall siege, the ende & ruyne where of, was foretoulde by the mouth of the Almighty. But for our purpose, to shewe howe there maye be iust cause to leuie and profecute warres, & to dyscerne of right herein, we are to serch for the roote & originall thereof. The worlde, God created & gaue vnto the sonnes of men, & this conditiō, the geeuer most iustlie annexed, this he enioyned with all, that no man shoulde couet, that whiche to another belōgeth, and that to euery man belongeth, which he without wrong enioyeth. For in the beginninge, when there was no auncient tytles to be made to landes, or lordship: possession caused good right, this is the lawe of nature and equalitie, & it is also in the ciuill lawe allowed, that those thinges wherein no man hath propertie or interest, are his, which first possesseth them, which he maye lawfullie houlde, & therefore ought not by force to be dispossessed of the same. Muche lesse, where possession is planted, and setled vppon auncyent ryght, or grounded on other good tytle. A later lawe there is, of the most highe God generallie geuen, which endureth the iustice of the first lawe, that euerie mā shoulde doe so, as hee woulde bee done vnto. And this is the iust measure, the direct rule, & certaine boūdes betwene righte & wrong, which beeinge considered, we shall knowe how to vse warres, and to dyrecte all our doynge well. Now lett vs runne as farre as wee maye, into the course of antiquitie, to serche the first beginniges
and

and causes of warres, that wee may conferre them with the euentcs and successe thereof, for the better knowledge and iudgement herein. We finde, that Cain the eldest sonne of Adam, in the firste ^{Cain.} time of the worlde liued so long, that diuers lādes in the East partes beyng peopled, he buylded a city for feare of his enemies, knowinge iuste cause giuen by him to be odious vnto men, for the vnnatural parricyde and murder of his brother. For at that time, Laball the sonne of Lamech, was growen ^{Laball.} mightie, and excercised armes against such as vsed vniust violence or oppression. Tubalcain was the ^{Thubalcain.} first that wrought on Iron, & forged weapons for that purpose. For as yet, there was no kyngdome established, nor countrey by conquest subdued, the pompe of Princes was not knowen, men desired not then, soueraintie ouer estates, but prepared by armes to shilde their owne, in sauetie, when they had no lawe to defende them. This beginninge of warres was made, in the first age, and no more we reade of, till after the floode: when the three sonnes of Noah, with their manifolde issue multiplied, possessed the sundrye regions of ^{Sem in Asia.} the worlde. Sem settled in Asia, Cam came into ^{Cam in} Afrique, and Iaphet inhabited Europe, whose of- ^{Afrique.} spring shortlie spred abroad into the sundry partes, ^{Iaphet in} regions & prouinces of the same. Then waxed Thu- ^{Europe.} ball the sōne of Iaphet, mightie in power, and bare rule aboue the rest. This man renued againe the vse of weapons. Soone after, Nimrod began & aduā- ^{Nimrod.} ced the firste kingdome ouer Chaldea, wheare he buylt

Cap. 8.

The seconde booke.

Assur.

Sardanapal⁹.

*Arba⁹.
Abraham.*

*Ninus.
Mars.
Hercules.*

buylt the citie Babell, subduinge people & Countreies, by oppression and outrage of warres, vnder his dominion. And thearefore the same violent Empire, lasted not longe, but it shortlie sonke, & was drowned in the great estate, which Assur rayfed in assirya, the land yet now bearinge his name. He buylt the Citie Niniue, Rezen, & others, by iust conquestes, amplifiyng his seignorie. After him succeded Ninus, in the time of the patriarke Abraham, whiche enuironned Babilon with a stronge wall, and muche beawtified the Citie, as the chiefe seate of his estate. Hce subdued the Baetriens, and other nations, makinge vnto him selfe a mightie Monarchye aboue other Kings, by honourable, & not iniurious warres, as it may appeare by the continuaunce of thys Empyre, whiche remained amonge the Assiryens, aboue 1300. yeares, vntill the raigne of Sardanapalus, whose estate thoroughe his beastlike lalciuyous life, was taken from him by Arbactus, a Prince of the Medes. Abraham him selfe made warres with the kinge of Sodome, and fower other Princes, vsinge at that time good order and policie in his battaile. And thearefore they that affirme Ninus, Mars, or Hercules, to bee the beginners, and firste vsers of warres, and order of battaile, are not learned in reading, for that theare is large prooffe of those before alleaged. And as for Mars, he was the sonne of Saturne, whiche was kinge of Crete, at that time when Ianus raygned in Italye, and that was about the time of Moses. And Hercules

cules of Thebes, lyued after that, in the time of
 Saull king of Iudea, or a little before by sum wri-
 ters, which was soone after the buylding of Troye.
 Mars made warre of ambition, and lordlye minde
 to rule: But Hercules, the patron of Iustice, and
 champion of noble prowesse, thrust him selfe into
 all daungers of battaile, to redresse iniuries, re-
 presse rapyne, & oppression, to roote out tirantes,
 to maintayne & defende right, to spred the valyle
 of prosperous peace, and wished saufe securitye
 ouer the worlde, to shewe example of most hyghe
 vertue and valure, punishinge robbers, and pur-
 ginge cuntryes of mischeuous malefactours, and
 v le persons. For whiche his ryghteous affection,
 and iust minde, as of deuyne vertue proceadinge,
 he was after hys deathe honoured and holden as
 a God. Romulus, to erecte a famous Citie, and es- *Romulus.*
 tablishe an happye estate withe excellent lawes,
 orders, and gouernement, called people toge-
 ther, and made warres for the compassinge, and
 encreasinge thereof. So dyd the auncient kinge
 Belus of Assiria, and Phoroneus in Grecia, sub- *Belus.*
 due people to good order and conuenient course *Phoroneus.*
 of lyfe, geuinge vnto them lawes for their pub-
 lique benefite and behoufe. In like sorte Ianus *Ianus.*
 before recyted, and Licurgus in Lacedæmon, *Licurgus.*
 reduced menne from idlenes, and leude lasye
 lyfe, vnto good trades, ciuilitye and practyse
 of vertue, for none other cause desiryng soue-
 raigntye, but for the good state and profytte *Minerva.*
 of the people. To thys ende Minerua, Cecrops, *Cecrops.*
 and

Cap. 8.

The seconde booke.

Cadmus.

Plato.

*Magistratus
excellens.*

Pastor populi.

& Cadmus vsed armes in their times before, (seeing mē to liue in disorder without gouernmēt, neither comfortably to thē selues, nor cōmodiouslye one for an other,) they extēded their power & dominion ouer thē, to retourne them into an happie & ciuill sorte of life. And diuers nations haue willingly submitted & put them selues vnder the rule & scepter of such, as they perceaued to be wise, well disposed, & carefull of the weale of a multitude, to be a patron, & a refuge, by their wisdom & experience vnto thē, in their troubles & neades. Thus seeing that inuasion in sum cases is tollerable, yelding sufficiēt matter, for noble courages to worke vpo, so that prowesse shal neuer be so shut vp, but it may haue a cōmendable course, if there be a regarde to the feare of God, for the vertuous direction & good ende thereof: the warres for defence must neades more generallie be allowed, whensoever wronge is offered, by the enemye of anie estate to the losse, vexation, or empayringe of the same, wheareby in bodies, goodes, mindes, possessions, fraunchises, lawes, iurisdiccions, credit, honour, or anye thinge that is of profit or contentation vnto thē, they be anoyed or hurte: the resistinge & encountering wheareof is iust honourable & necessarye. The aūcient warres of Troye & Thebes, arose vpon great wronges offered, the first of them, in the time that K. Dauid raygned, the other, not longe after. The Grekes maintained continuall warres, for their libertie, to preserue their publique states vnder elected gouernours, & especially to auoyde subiec-

subiection to anie foreine nation, which they esteemed barbarous and rascall, in respect of themselves. The Scythiens, hauinge no riche or delicate possessions of pleasant or frutefull fieldes, no substaunce or store of goodes to loose, yet they fought fiercelie to defende the tombes of their ancestors (whereof they had their greatest care) from iniuries of the enemye, & defacing. And generallie, nature hath geuen to liuinge thinges, a desire of defence, & resistinge of wronges, wherefore that force is better to be allowed of, then inuasion. Iudas Machabeus saide to the Israelites, let vs fight for our liues & our lawes. And thus to cut of our course in to the antiquitie of warres, seing that it is not my purpose nowe to wryte thereof, (yet supposinge thus muche not to be impertinent vnto hym, that woulde bee a trauayler in the knoweledge and affaires of warres) we conclude by plentiful prooffe out of the store of histories, accordinge to our proposition. That warres iustlie made, for the more parte, growe to good effecte, and the violent empyre lasteth not longe. Battail attempted for pompe, or ambitious desire of dominion, not regarding right or wronge, seldome hath good successe: or els the frutes had thereby, soone fade, suche victories take no roote. But yet it remayneth, to aunswere one obiection, that seemeth to ouerthrowe and quyte condempne all our warres, whiche is, that our Lorde Iesus hath sayde, that he which striketh with the swerde, shall perishe with the same, which is to be vnderstoode, eyther of wrongfull striking,

Math. 26.

M.j.

or els

Act. Apost.
10.

Mathew. 10.

or else betwene pryuate persons, which haue the swerde of the prince & defence of the lawe, to remedie their wronges. Also, where it is comaunded, that he which is stryckē on the one eare, should turne the other, to receaue the like, (it is expounded) whereas the exāple of such singuler pacience, maye greatlie auaille to make such insolēt outrage, the more odious & detestable, & that there is a law to punish the same, otherwise warres, & armes maye be vsed for maintenance & defence of vertue & ryght, & great good grow therof. For in the x, of the Actes of the Apostles we reade, that the cōuersation & order of life of the captaine Cornelius, was verie well pleasing & acceptable vnto God: and in the tenth of saint Mathæw, our sauour saith, I came not to sēd peace into the earth, but a swerde; which proueth, that the same maye be vsed according to the good pleasure of God, thus if we serch his will, we shall finde it, and knowe howe to obserue & keepe it.

¶ Of victories, which is the best, and what truce maye be honourablye made. Cap. ix.

THat victorie is most to be preferred, which maye be soonest compassed, & obtained with least expence, inconuenience & losse, especiallie of men: wherein it is to be cōsidered, that the same is made more honourable, & of greater importāce & fame, if periurie, cruel murthers, infamous treasōs, poysoninge of victualls, or such odious extremities, be not vsed therein. Fabius had excellent regarde of honour in his conquest, when besieginge a citie of the Faliscyens, a schoolemaster which had the chiefe

chiefest mens sonnes of the towne in gouernmēt & teaching, trayned them forth on a time apte for his purpose, & for hope of rewarde, brought them into the enemies handes, to the ende that thereby their fathers & frendes shoulde be fayne to render the towne. But Fabius rewarding him, not iumpe accordinge to his expectation, but duellie for hys desertes, he caused the boyes to scourge their schole mayster well with rodde, for betrayinge the trust of their parentes, and so sent them home together singinge vnto the citizens, which hauinge his noble vertue in highe admiration, forthwith rendred vnto him the towne. Dauid, sought not by murder to wrest the kingdome out of the hādes of Saul, but punished him which had laide hādes vpon his Lorde, anoynted & elected of God. Cæsar procured not Pompeye to be slayne, but wept when hee sawe his enemies head. Alexander pursued Bessus, to reuenge the trayterous murther by him cōmytted vpon his enemye, kinge Darius. The Romaines generallie, had regarde to conqueere by valure & prowesse, wherefore they grewe most great in Empire, & were had in honour & awe of all nations: The Carthagynois contrarywyse not carynge howe, so they had victorie, vsinge foule practises, infidelitie, and all bad shiftes to attaine the same, shortlie lost all. So that the vertue, and honourable dealinge of the generall, shall alwaies auayle muche to the prosperous proceadinge of his warres, and more easye accomplyshynge of victorie. Hee oughte to bee as a tutor, or rather as a father,

*Bellum glori-
osum, Paci-
turpi antefes-
tendum.*

tender and carefull ouer the souldiours commit-
ted vnto his guyde, good order & diligent proui-
dence. The excellent captaines of R oome, desired
rather to saue one citizē in battail, thē to destroye
manie enemies. Crueltie is to be eschued, excepte
when seueritie sharpelie shewed maye geue great
example. But where lenitie and prudent meanes
maye expresse & worke the effecte of rigour, euen
towards enemies, the same is to be vsed, that they
seeinge the excellent vertue, wisdom, and order
of gouernment in the conquerour, maye the ra-
ther bee allured to commit them selues vnto him,
when by suffringe exchange of a ruler, the state
of their welfare, shall not be ouerthrowen or vn-
done, nor flauerie or vile seruitude, more odious
then death, is not sett before them most obstinate-
lie & desperatelie to bee encountred. Nowe tou-
ching occasions of truce & intermission of warres,
it is to be cōsidered, that the same be made & done
without dishonour, so that the warres thereby be
come not frutelesse, or the armie in worse case
then before, as if the enemy craue that for feare,
which shall like auaille him, and muche encourage
the other partie. But pollicye willeth not to seeke
truce or delaye, but by constrainte of necessitie, or
for sum auantage to be taken, as sum ayde looked
for, or in the meantime to growe into the secrets
of the enemy to siste his purposes, by conference
had with him, to vndermine his doings if he be not
very well aduised, to serch the state of his force &
gouernmēt. And withal the good captaine must be
vigilant

vigilāt & close in his owne affaires. Thus shal not the time be detracted, & the armie with great charges maintayned without good purpose or profit.

¶ Of the vse, and ende of Warres, and of preparation therefore in time of peace. Cap. 10.

NOW is it to be determined, that the vse of warres ought to be applyed for the defence of right, to shyelde from iniuries, & to plant & settle a commodious state of life, & this vse respecteth & hath regarde vnto a further effecte, to growe thereof: which is the verie finall ende of warres, that after valiaūt victorie or reuenge had of the enemye, peace may follow, and be maintained with honour, free frō violēce & hostile oppression. So that other nations, seing the discipline, & martial prowesse of an estate so wel appointed & defended, may feare to offer thē iniuries, & gladly desire to haue league & fauour there, whē things in this good stay, & saulie are cōfourmed & established, thē shall learning, & trades florish, & craftes men in cūning encrease, Gouldē quiet shal plante good order to foster frugality, & bringe foorth the fruites of plenty: where by the lād wel peopled, good gouernmēt shal spred the happie state of a prosperous cōmen weale ouer *Plato.* al. Good excercises shal be honourable frequēted, *Optimè tum* & vertue with all desire & cōtention endeouored: *ciuitates in-* in which excellent course of life, we shal finde our *stutuntur,* selues most happie, & doe our Lord God best ser- *cum singuli* uice, so that our felicitie may hereafter endure for *suis operibus* euer. One thinge more I would saye, & so cōclude, *incumbunt.* that is, for the prouision of all thinges neadeful, in
time

time of peace, for the mayntenance of warres: for peace is the nourice of store & encrease of thinges, in which time, if by good prouidence respect be not had, to haue readie furniture of armour, weapons, money, munition, menne prepared bothe in mindes, & by excercise trayned for this seruice, it will cause fainte warres: the affaires wheareof being premeditate before hande, proceade the better withe out stickinge or straungenesse, as the iourneye, where the waye is plaine and well knowen. The time of warres is troublesome to take counsaile in, and more vnfitte for exactions, but most of all it is vnmete then to take order and to haue thinges to seke, when they shoulde bee occupied. Also this preparation & furniture for the warres, woulde bee had of euerie priuate manne, accordinge to his abilitie, as well as in comen stores of corporations and companies. And suche person as is of wealthe, and lesse able by his persone or good counsaile for the seruice and defence of his Countrey, oughte to extende his good will and forwardnes the further, for good purueyance to arme and furnishe others theareunto. For he, that is so sotted in simplicitie, and drowned in basenes of minde, that hopinge still vpon peace, will neuer aduaunce his consideration or care, for defence, in time of warres, but employe all his endeour vnto his owne priuate gaine or pleasure, and not laye out anye money for the behoufe of the comen state, is like by his policie to saue a fether, & lose the birde, while hee snatched at a shadowe,
he

heloseth the substaunce. And the example of such grosse carelesse securitie, is verye pernicious vnto a comon weale, for diuers of them, which haue the wealth of the Realme beinge slacke & negligent in this point, it is not a feawe of the other, though they weare neuer so careful, or wel disposed & appointed to serue, that can sustaine the brunte of warres, & the poore man can little auayle hearein, beinge thoroughe wante of abilitie, naked both of armour & experience, hauing no spare time for the excercise of armes, whē all his endeouour employed to purueye for his necessarie lyuinge, can skantlie suffice theareunto; but his trust is, that thoroughe the circumspecte prouidence of them which haue whearewithall to doe good hearein, hee shall enioye his pouertye, saufe from captiuitie. So, if the other bee vnfurnished at the time of neade, what doth he, but bringe ruyne vpon him selfe, and hys deare Countrey. Is it not the wished wellfare, and a right happye state, wheare euerye man may enioye his owne quyetlie, vnder their naturall and gracious Prince, moſte carefull and tender ouer the Countreye and people, vsynge suche lawes, as the wyſe menne of the Realme, can best deuise and finde oute to bee moſte profitable for all sortes of menne; And an horrible miserye more odyous then anye deathe, to haue oure Lawes, lyues, goodes, and what ſceuer is deare vnto vs, at the lyst, and vnder the contempte and rule of the insolent and cruell enemye, to bee spoyled by force, pyllled by exactyons, and trybutes,
to

Cap. 10.

The seconde booke.

*Plant.
Libertatem
nemo bonus,
nisi cum
anima si-
mul amittit.*

*A happye cō-
men weale,
where good
lawes and
armes, are
duely vsed.
Iustice and
chivalrye
maintained.*

to liue laden with seruitude & villanyes. If we will haue these auoyded, then must theare be defence prepared for the good & prosperous estate: Els is the same by peace enriched vnto spoile, and fatted fitt for the tothe of the enemye. For yet neuer was theare great & famous estate, whearein armes and lawes, ciuill gouernement, and martiall prowesse florished not together. And now for suche as shall serue in the warres, that they might liue honestlie and ciuillye after the same ended, whereby they should lesse feare to put them selues forth in daungers, if there weare in euery shire of this realme a house ordayned for maymed souldiours, & men worne in the warres, with the suche prouision, that they might be able to lyue theare, & not idleye as lasye lorells haue done heretofore vnder cloke of religion, but orderlie & duelye to serue God, & at certaine feastes & times conuenient, to be leaders vnto the countrey men, in the orders & arraye of warre, and teachers to the ignorant in the best vse of martiall weapons & practises: This

I suppose should be well pleasinge
vnto almightie GOD, & also
right honourable, & pro-
fitable vnto the
Realme.

FINIS.

¶ Tout poiar & louange a Dieu.
Amen,

